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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 364



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19 November 1982

## CHINA REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BAN YUE TAN' VIEWS NEW PARTY CONSTITUTION

HK300713 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 17, 15 Sep 82 pp 15-21

[Feature article: "CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department Outlines Guidelines for the Dissemination of the CPC Constitution"]

#### [Text] 1. Guiding Ideology in Revising the Party Constitution

The new historical period has imposed new demands on the building of our party. The party constitution passed at the 11th CPC National Congress did not eliminate the influences of leftist mistakes and was unable to adapt to the conditions and demands of the new period. Thus, it had to be revised. The guiding ideology of revising the party constitution this time is: To adapt to the characteristics and the demands of the new situation in the construction of socialist modernization, to impose stricter demands on party members and party cadres, to promote the combat strength of the party organizations and to adhere to and improve the leadership of the party.

#### 2. Procedures for Revising the Party Constitution

The revision of the party constitution began in the winter of 1979. Directly led by the CPC Central Committee, many comrades from the central units were transferred to hold seminars. Later, a considerable number of comrades was sent to various parts of the country and the grass roots units to conduct investigations and to ask for opinions. In the spring of 1980, after repeated discussions and revisions, a draft was formed. After the discussions held in the 5th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, there was one more revision. In April 1980, it was published and distributed to all party members for discussion. In addition, it was distributed to nonparty personages to ask for their opinions. In May and June 1982, there was another revision on a greater scale. On 5 June, it was published and distributed to the provinces, cities, autonomous regions, the party committees of various military regions, the party organizations of various central political, military departments and departments of the party and to part of the deputies of the 12th CPC National Congress. Later, necessary revisions were made in accordance with the opinions collected, thus forming the draft of the party constitution which was presented to the 7th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee for discussion and approval. This draft was discussed and passed in the 7th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. It was unanimously decided to approve the

draft in principle and to authorize the members of the standing committee of the political bureau to present it to the 12th CPC National Congress for discussion after they had revised it in accordance with the opinions formed in the discussions held in the plenary sessions of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Discussed and considered in the 12th CPC National Congress, the new "GPC Constitution" was passed on 6 September 1982. In our dissemination of the party constitution, we can combine the procedures of revision in our explanation: The new party constitution is formed on the basis of fully promoting democracy within the party and it has relatively better concentrated the experience and the wisdom of the whole party. It has not only eliminated the mistakes of the party constitution of the 11th CPC National Congress and has not only preserved the merits of the constitutions of the 7th and 8th CPC National Congresses, but it has also summarized the positive and negative experiences of party building since the founding of the state.

### 3. Main Contents

In the first place, in the new party constitution, there is a "general program" which is quite substantial in content and quite fully outlines the program of the party. Following the "general program," there are 10 chapters which are subdivided into 50 articles. Collectively speaking, there are three aspects in its content: 1) It imposes on all party members, party cadres and grassroot organizations of the party demands stricter than all those imposed by the previous party constitutions; 2) Important changes have been made in the system of the organization of the party; and 3) Ampler, more concrete provisions are made for the system of democratic centralism and party discipline. In our dissemination, we should emphasize explaining the principles and provisions of the party's programme and the three aspects of the main content so as to relate the necessity and importance of the present provisions and to relate their significance in strengthening party building, promoting the combat strength of the party and adhering to and improving the leadership of the party.

### 4. Concerning the Program of the Party

A proletarian political party must have a program formed on a Marxist scientific basis. Lenin said: "A program has tremendous importance for the consolidation and consistent activity of a political party." ("Collected Works of Lenin," vol 4 p 229) The party constitution requires every party member to recognize the program of the party. One of the important characteristics of the new party constitution is the inclusion of quite a full "general program." It briefly outlined the program of the party. One of the important characteristics of the new party constitution is the inclusion of quite a full "general program." It briefly outlines the program of the party.

In accordance with the theories of scientific socialism, the "general program" has analyzed the tendencies of development in world history and in the historic period our country is experiencing at the present moment. It has analyzed the basic characteristics of the socialist system, its immense superiority and the future in which it will achieve ultimate world victory it has provided for the ultimate goal of striving to implement a communist society and the basic tasks of building socialism in the present situation.

The "general program" specifies the general task of the party in the present situation and the basic domestic and international policies of the party. Moreover, it explains the three tasks of implementing socialist modernization, building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and developing a high level of socialist democracy. In explaining the general task, is something which is quite different from past practice. That is, "a high level civilization" is placed before "a high level of democracy" on the grounds that building a socialist material civilization and a socialist spiritual civilization is the fundamental goal of socialism, while building a high level of democratic political system is one of the goals of socialism and it is also the guarantee which ensures the implementation of the former.

The "general program" clearly specifies the nature of the vanguard of the working class of our party, the guiding ideology of our party and the three basic demands which our party must determinedly implement. The three basic demands are: To maintain a high degree of political and ideological unity, to wholeheartedly work for the people and to adhere to the system of democratic centralism. These three aspects are the major merits and the main tradition in the formation of the history of our party. In addition, they are the basic demands in strengthening the building of our party under new historical conditions. The basic spirit of these aspects is consistent with the basic spirit of the three major aspects of our work style as summarized in the past. The three major aspects of our work style are: Combining theory with practice, maintaining close links with the masses and criticism and self-criticism. We must continuously promote the fine tradition of our party and strive to implement these basic demands.

The provisions of the "general program" are the main points of the program of our party. In our dissemination, we should make use of the Marxist theory to put forward a theoretical explanation of these main points of the party's program so as to make the whole party and all the people understand the party's program.

##### 5. Concerning the Strict Demands Imposed on Party Members and Cadres

The party members' being qualified or not qualified is an important issue. It affects the combat strength of the party, the prestige the party enjoys among the masses and the fact that the party can or cannot correctly implement its leadership. The question of the criteria of a party member and the requirements of a cadre become important when the party leads the national political power. In the past, to be a party member and to take part in the revolution, one had to bear lots of hardships and be always prepared to sacrifice one's life. But now, there are people who think that they can get privileges in being party members. They can make use of various opportunities and conditions to get privileges at the expense of others. (First, at the expense of the masses, second, at the expense of the state.). If they behave in this manner, the party's prestige among the masses and its leading function will certainly drop. Therefore, the party constitution must in the first place solve the question of whether the party members are qualified or not, it must draw a clear line of demarcation and explain what qualities one must have before one is counted as a qualified member. With regard to this, the new party constitution has emphatically made concrete provisions. (Of course, the rights of the party members are also provided for.)

There are three aspects to the demands on party members: 1) It gives definition. It specifies what kind of man a Communist Party member is and who can apply for membership. 2) It strongly emphasizes that party members must dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism and be ready to make any personal sacrifices. In addition, in accordance with the conditions of being the party in power, it explains that party members are at all times ordinary members of the working people and that they must wholeheartedly serve the people. They must not seek personal gain or privileges, although they are allowed personal benefits and job functions and powers as provided for by the relevant regulations and policies. 3) It provides for the eight duties which party members must fulfil. The eight duties are quite strict. The demands imposed by the new party constitution are stricter than those imposed by the previous ones. But these demands are concrete and must be fulfilled and accomplished. For instance the party constitution requires that party members must "be the first to bear hardships and the last to enjoy comforts, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or benefit themselves at the expense of the public." This means that every party member should not use the office of the party in power to seek personal privileges at the expense of the masses, the collective and the state. This demand and many other similar demands are the ones party members should and can meet. Of course, it is not easy to meet all these demands. Party members must be repeatedly educated before they can completely meet these demands.

There is a separate chapter on party cadres. In this chapter, the party constitution imposes on the cadres demands even stricter than those imposed on party members. It emphatically mentions that party cadres must proceed from reality and properly carry out the line, principles and policies of the party, be able to fight against all erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party, be qualified for their leading posts, have a democratic work style, implement the party's mass line, combat bureaucratism, exercise their functions and powers in the proper way, adhere to the party's principles and combat all acts of abusing power and seeking personal gain. Of course, party cadres must have the qualifications of party members first. There are some cadres who think that qualifications of members apply to new members and ordinary members only and since they are old members or leading cadres, it seems that there is no question whether they meet the criteria of membership. The actual situation is not like that. There are cadres who occupy high positions but do not completely meet the criteria of an ordinary party member. Therefore, every party member and cadre should use the criteria of membership and the demands of cadres to judge himself and to set demands on himself. The extent to which leading cadres at all levels are successful in this aspect exerts greater influence than that of the ordinary members. In the chapter on party cadres, the new party constitution provides for the selection, training and assessment of the cadres in accordance with correct principles and it calls for genuine efforts to make the ranks of the cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. In addition, it provides that cadres are not entitled to lifelong tenure, and they can be transferred from or relieved of their posts.

The new party constitution has made provisions for the duties of the primary organizations of the party more detailed than those made in the previous party constitutions. They call for efforts to propagate and carry out the party's line, principles and policies, educate, organize and supervise party members and cadres and see that they truly fulfill their duties and that they give full play to their roles. New provisions are particularly made to educate and supervise party members and cadres and prevent them from infringing the interests of the state, the collective and the masses. These provisions are very important in straightening the work style of the party and the promotion of the party's combat strength.

In short, we must emphatically propagate the necessity to adapt ourselves to the status of the party in power and to the new historical conditions, the strict demands the new party constitution imposes on party members and cadres and the significance of these demands. We must explain that if the provisions of the party constitution are fully implemented, the images of the party members and cadres will go through a notable change. In this way, the party can present a new appearance before the masses and greatly improve its combat strength.

#### 6. Concerning the Organizational System of the Party

In the new party constitution, there are a few changes in the organizational system of the party. First, at the central, provincial, municipal levels and the level of autonomous regions, two commissions and one committee are elected at each level by the party congresses at the corresponding levels. At the central level, there are the Central Committee, the central advisory commission and the central discipline inspection commission. At the provincial level, there are also the two commissions and one committee too. The advisory commissions at the central and provincial levels serve as the political assistant and adviser of the central and provincial party committees. This is an important measure which promotes the advisory function of the old cadres and which implements the cooperation and replacement of the old by the new cadres. The authority of the discipline inspection commissions is also provided for. The commissions for discipline inspection at the central and various local levels are directly elected by the party congresses at the corresponding levels and they report their work to the party congresses. Discipline inspection commissions at higher levels have the power to alter the decisions of the discipline inspection commissions at lower levels. In addition to being led by the party committee of the corresponding levels, the discipline inspection commissions at lower levels are also led by the next higher discipline inspection commissions. Thus, there is a complete system from the highest level to the grassroot level in the organization of the commissions for discipline inspection and the limits of their authority are extended. Second, the system of chairmanship of the central committee is changed to the system of a general secretary. There is no more chairman and vice chairman. There is only the general secretary. The general secretary is in charge of convening meetings and standing committee meetings of the political bureau and he is also in charge of the central secretariat. These changes are advantageous to the strengthening of the collective leadership. The system of general secretary and the system of chairmanship are two different systems. There is no reason why we keep two systems at the same time.

Third, in the chapter on the relationship between the party and the CYL, the party constitution provides that those secretaries of league committees, at or below the county level or in enterprises and institutions, who are party members may attend meetings of party committees at the corresponding levels and of their standing committees. In this way, we can resume the intimate relationship between the party and the CYL which has existed in the history of our party for a long time and it helps strengthen the party's leadership over the CYL and the training of young cadres.

In propagating the changes in the organizational system of the party, we should emphatically explain: These changes are carried out in order to further realize the regularization of the political lives in various organizations at the central and local levels, strengthen the unity of the whole party and realize the cooperation and replacement between the old and new party members.

#### 7. Concerning the Party's System of Democratic Centralism and Party Discipline

Fuller and more concrete provisions have been made in these two aspects of the new party constitution. First, the basic principles of democratic centralism are provided for in a more systematic and more comprehensive manner. It clearly provides that "the party forbids all forms of personality cult" and that all major issues shall be decided upon by the party committees after democratic discussion and must not be decided by any individual. Corresponding provisions regarding the responsibility and jurisdiction of various party organizations, the interrelationship between central and local party organizations, the interrelationship between organizations at lower and higher levels and the relationship between individual party members and party organizations are made. In this way, the party's system of democratic centralism is more vigorously ensured. Second, the question of party discipline is placed in an extremely important position and the following provisions have been made:

1. It applies the principle that all party members are equally subject to party discipline and emphasizes that there should not be any party member who does not participate in the activities of the party organizations and who refuse to be subject to the mass supervision inside and outside the party.
2. The party constitution demands that every party member must consciously act within the bounds of party discipline and the law of the state. Party members who violate the law and administrative discipline shall be subject to administrative disciplinary action or legal action. Those who have seriously violated criminal law shall be expelled from the party.
3. In case a party organization seriously violates party discipline and is unable to rectify the mistakes on its own, the next higher party committee should, after verifying the facts and considering the seriousness of the case, decide on the reorganization and dissolution of the organization.
4. It provides that disciplinary action must be taken in accordance with the party constitution and that the rights of the party members must be respected.

For instance, when a party organization discusses the disciplinary measure against a member or when it verifies facts, the party member must be given a chance to account for himself and speak in his own defence while other party members may also bear witness or argue in his behalf. It is strictly forbidden, within the party to take any measure against a member that contravenes the party constitution or the laws of the state. If disciplinary action is taken against a member or alternate member of the central committee or a local committee at any level, it is necessary to go through special procedures. When a party organization decides on a disciplinary measure against a member, the party member in question must be informed of the decision to be made and of the facts on which it is based. If the member does not accept the decision, he can appeal, and the party organization concerned must promptly deal with or forward his appeal, and must not withhold or suppress it. These provisions are the summing-up of historical experience. They are necessary in strengthening democracy and the regularization of political life within the party.

In propagating this question, we must emphatically explain that the whole party implements the system of democratic centralism and strengthens party discipline in accordance with the provisions of the new party constitution. This is the key to organizationally preserving and consolidating a high degree of ideological and political unity in our party. It is the key to implementing the party's correct line, principles and policies and the key to promoting the combat strength of the party. It is also one of the important lessons learned in all these years, especially in the years since the "great cultural revolution." The general spirit is to fully promote democracy within the party, prevent overconcentration of political power, personality cult and the killing of important issues by individuals. In addition, it must ensure that the whole party acts in unison on the base of political and ideological unity, that the party's decisions are effectively and speedily implemented and it must overcome and prevent the phenomena of each going his way and weak organization.

#### 8. Concerning Adherence To and Improvements in the Party's Leadership

The party is the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism and the state power of our people's democratic dictatorship. Historical experience has proven that such leadership must be in accordance with certain principles and methods. Therefore, in addition to the above-mentioned three aspects of the main content, the new party constitution has also clearly provided for the principles and methods.

Party leadership comprises: 1) leadership with regard to principles and policies; and 2) Organizational (including the distribution and supervision of cadres,) propaganda and educational work (including the ideological and political work on all fronts in accordance with the characteristics of these fronts). In order to strengthen the party's leadership, party work must be separated from government work on the basis of division of labour. In enterprises and institutions, there must be division of labour in party work, administrative work and production. The party must ensure that the country's legislative, judicial and administrative organs, economic and cultural

organizations and organizations of the people work enthusiastically, actively, independently, responsibly and in coordination. As to the leadership of the party organizations at the grassroots level in the enterprises and institutions, the new party constitution provides that: Those party organizations at the grassroots level should discuss and make decisions on important issues of principle and ensure that the administrative personnel fully exercises their authority and that the party organization does not take the job of the administrative personnel into its own hands. The general branch and the branch offices under the leadership of the party committee should, except in exceptional cases, only ensure the function of supervision of the work of the institutions and enterprises.

The provision that "the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state" is an extremely important principle. It must be observed by every member and cadre from the central to the grassroots level. That means, all activities of the party members and party organizations must not violate the constitution and laws of the state. The constitution and laws of the state are formulated by the people under the leadership of the party. When they have been passed by state authority, the whole party should be the first to observe them.

Party committees at all levels should free themselves from heavy routine administrative affairs to strengthen the propaganda and implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, to organize, educate and supervise the party members to play their exemplary roles, to emphatically strengthen the ideological and political work for the masses and to prevent and overcome the tendency of "the party's paying no attention to the party itself." Thus, the new party constitution provides that the central organizations, local organizations and organizations at the grassroots level should pay attention to the building of the party. They should always discuss and inspect the party's propaganda work, educational work, organizational work, discipline inspection, mass work and united front work and pay attention to the ideological and political conditions inside and outside the party. This is extremely important in strengthening and improving the party's leadership.

In propagating this aspect, we must combine it with the provisions of the new party constitution to explain how we can correctly implement the party's leadership and explain the important significance of improving the party's leadership in adhering to the party's leadership under new historical conditions.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### FIRST IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW211025 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 17 Oct 82

[First in series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "Why Was the Party Constitution Revised? What Were the Guidelines for the Revision?"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpt] The First CPC National Congress adopted the first party constitution, which was subsequently called the First CPC Program. Since then almost every party national congress partially or comprehensively revised the party constitution in light of the developing situation and the party's changed tasks; this was also the case with the new party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress. Since its founding 61 years ago, our party has revised its constitution 11 times. Because of restrictive historical conditions and erroneous guiding ideology, the party constitution adopted by the 11th Party Congress inherited leftist mistakes on many major issues. Tremendous changes have taken place in the political life of our party and state since the 11th Party Congress, especially since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Thus, the party constitution adopted by the 11th Party Congress lagged far behind the developing situation and was quite incompatible with the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines reiterated by our party. This is why the party constitution adopted by the 11th Party Congress had to be revised.

The guidelines for the revision of the party constitution called for setting more exacting demands on party members and cadres, enhancing the fighting capacity of the party organizations and upholding and improving party leadership, all in accordance with the party's actual conditions and in conformity with the characteristics and needs of the new period in which socialist modernization is being undertaken. All this was aimed at building the party and making it a strong leading core for the cause of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### SECOND IN SERIES ON REVISED PARTY CONSTITUTION

OW211031 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 17 Oct 82

[Second in series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "What Are the Main Characteristics of the New Party Constitution? What Are the Major Developments and Changes in the New Party Constitution as Compared With the Previous Ones?"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The new party constitution consists of a general program, 10 chapters and 50 articles. Compared with the previous party constitutions, the main characteristics of the new party constitution and the major developments and changes in it can be summarized as follows:

1. The general program states the party's basic program quite comprehensively yet concisely. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said that the general program of the party constitution is our party's most fundamental political and organizational program. The general program comprises the premises and general principles of the party constitution as well as the party's basic program. Therefore, anyone who applies for party membership must regard the general program as the party's program. Defining precisely the nature, status and role of the party in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist theory of party building and the practice of revolution and construction in our country, the general program of the new party constitution reiterates that the party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system and that the party takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guide for action.

The general program clearly points out the principal contradiction in our society, defines the party's general task at the present stage and its domestic and foreign policies and sets the three essential requirements for the strengthening of party building--a high degree of ideological and political unity, wholehearted service to the people and adherence to democratic centralism.

2. The new party constitution sets higher and more exacting demands on party members, party cadres and primary party organizations. In the spirit of improving party members' qualities and solving the question of who is qualified for party membership. Article 1 of the party constitution explicitly defines what kind of person can apply for party membership. Article 2 of the party constitution stresses: CPC members, who are vanguard fighters of the Chinese

working class imbued with communist consciousness, must serve the people wholeheartedly, dedicate their whole lives to the realization of communism and be ready to make any personal sacrifices.

Article 3 of the new party constitution provides for eight duties for party members to fulfill, which are more exacting than those stipulated in previous party constitutions. Article 4 provides for eight rights for party members to enjoy, which are fuller than those stipulated in previous party constitutions. Whether or not a party member can conscientiously fulfill his duties and correctly exercise his rights is an important indication of whether or not he is a qualified party member.

The new party constitution includes a special chapter on party cadres. Among other things, this chapter calls for genuine efforts to make the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent. It particularly stipulates that leading party cadres at all levels must perform in an exemplary way their duties as party members and meet six basic requirements which are stricter than those for ordinary party members and cadres.

3. The new party constitution includes major changes in and new stipulations on the party's organizational system at the central and local levels. One major change in the party's organizational system at the central level is that the party Central Committee has no chairman or vice chairmen but only a general secretary. The general secretary, who must be a member of the standing committee of the party Central Committee's political bureau, is responsible for convening meetings of the political bureau and its standing committee and presides over the work of the party Central Committee secretariat. The new party constitution also stipulates that the chairman of the central advisory commission, the first secretary of the central discipline inspection commission and the chairman of the military commission of the party Central Committee must be members of the standing committee of the party Central Committee's political bureau.

All these stipulations are conducive to strengthening the party's collective leadership, consolidating the unity of the party and preventing the recurrence of overcentralization of power and any arbitrary decision by any individual person.

4. The new party constitution contains fairly comprehensive stipulations on the strengthening of the party's democratic centralism and the strict enforcement of party discipline. In the chapter on the party's organizational system, the new party constitution explicitly stipulates that the party is an integral body organized under its program and constitution, on the principle of democratic centralism. Drawing a lesson from past experience, the new party constitution stipulates that the party forbids any form of personality cult and that all major issues shall be decided upon by the party committees based on democratic consultations.

Major stipulations on the strict enforcement of party discipline are:

A. The principle that all party members are equally subject to party discipline shall be applied, and there shall be no privileged party members who are exempt from participating in the regular activities of the party organization and from accepting supervision by the masses inside and outside the party.

B. Every party member is required to strictly observe the state law and administrative discipline, in addition to party discipline; otherwise, he shall be punished according to party discipline as well as the state law and administrative discipline. Party members who have seriously violated the criminal law shall be expelled from the party.

C. In taking disciplinary measures against party members, it is imperative to abide by the party constitution and to protect their rights as party members. It is strictly forbidden to take any measures against a party member that contravene the party constitution or the laws of the state, or to retaliate against or frame up comrades.

D. In case a party organization seriously violates party discipline and is unable to rectify the mistake on its own, it should be reorganized or dissolved according to prescribed procedures.

5. The new party constitution provides for the correct principles and methods for upholding and improving party leadership. It is necessary to improve party leadership in order to uphold it. The new party constitution explicitly points out that party leadership consists mainly of political, ideological and organizational leadership. The party should exercise its leadership over the political life of the state, the realization of the socialist cause and the various nonparty organizations by formulating and implementing correct lines, principles and policies, doing painstaking and effective ideological and political work, performing strict and careful organizational work and bringing the party members' exemplary vanguard role into full play. The new party constitution also specifically stipulates that the party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and laws of the state. In other words, all party organizations and members, from the central level down to the grassroots level, just conscientiously abide by the constitution and laws of the state, and none of their activities is permitted to contravene the constitution and laws of the state.

The above may be said to be the main points of the new party constitution.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### THIRD IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW220827 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 28 Oct 82

[Third in a series of questions and answers about the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "How Should We Understand the Provisions in the New Party Constitution Concerning the Nature of Our Party?"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] Any political party is based on a class and, as such, has its own class nature. Since its founding, the Communist Party of China has explicitly declared that it is a revolutionary political party of the Chinese proletariat. In the past, we described our party as an advancing force of the proletariat; now we say that the CPC is the vanguard of the working class. This is the newest epitome of the class and revolutionary nature of our party after the proletariat seized state power and has led that power for 33 years in our country.

Some comrades have raised this question: "Now class relations have undergone a significant change in our country, in that the exploiting class has been eliminated and class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction; under these circumstances, does the party still have its class nature? Is it still the vanguard of the working class?" In our country, the bourgeoisie--which is an exploiting class--has been eliminated since the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production was basically completed. On the other hand, the working class has not been eliminated like the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it has grown in strength and still preserves its original proletarian class characteristics. In addition, because our socialist society does not have a long history and has not yet developed to the stage where all classes and all class differences have been eliminated, the great task that history has entrusted to the Chinese working class is far from completed. The working class will exist as a strong advanced class for a long time and will, through the Communist Party, play a leading role among other classes and social strata. Such being the case, the nature of our party remains unchanged even though the class situation has undergone a significant change in our country.

How should we understand the statement that the CPC is the vanguard of the working class and the faithful representative of the people of all nationalities in China? "Vanguard" and "faithful representative" refer to two

different aspects of the nature of our party. The CPC's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system and the emancipation of all mankind. The creation of a communist social system is an inevitable result of the law of social development. It follows that our party, by struggling for the creation of a communist social system, represents the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities in our country. Furthermore, the working class cannot achieve its own emancipation without emancipating all mankind. This means that the fundamental interests of the working class and the people of all nationalities in our country coincide. In addition, the statement that the party is the faithful representative of the people of all nationalities in China reflects the purpose for which our party was founded—that is, to wholeheartedly serve the people. Our party requests that all words and deeds of every party member conform to the maximum interests of the broadest masses of the people. Every party member is requested to subordinate his personal interests unconditionally and absolutely to the interests of the party and the people.

Ours is a multi-national country. The correct line, principles and policies formulated by our party take care of the characteristics and interests of the people of all nationalities, and they have been formulated on the basis of careful in-depth investigation and study of reality. For this reason, they receive enthusiastic support from the people of all nationalities in the country. The CPC deserves to be called the faithful representative of the interests of the people of all nationalities.

The CPC is the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism. This statement fully indicates the historical fact that our party leads the Chinese revolution, as well as its present position in the political life of our country. The previous party constitution contained the words that the party is the highest form of class organization of the proletariat. These words are not found in the new party constitution because the essence of these words is implied in the statement that the CPC is the force at the core leading China's cause of socialism—a statement which is more suitable to the actual situation of our country.

Our party takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guidance. It has a political program aimed at creating a communist social system, a scientific method of leadership and a good style of work. For this reason, it enjoys the great confidence of the people throughout the country. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, the CPC is the core of leadership for the whole Chinese people; without this core, the cause of socialism cannot be victorious.

The work of socialist modernization which we are carrying out is an unprecedentedly great task, which is very arduous and complicated. We must pool the efforts of hundreds of millions of people to form a united and well-organized task force to fulfill this great task of socialist construction. Without the party leadership, such a task would be out of the question.

In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th founding anniversary of the CPC, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: The past 60 years prove that our party is indeed a proletarian party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong

Thought and a party wholeheartedly serving the people, entirely dedicated to their interests and with no particular interest of its own. It is truly a long-tested party, which has acquired rich experience, learned many lessons and is capable of leading the people in braving difficulties to win victory after victory in the revolution. The role of this great party as the force at the core of the Chinese people's revolutionary cause and its leadership in this cause are the dictates of history and of the will and interests of the people of all nationalities, dictates which no force on earth can change or shake.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### FOURTH IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW230054 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 19 Oct 82

[Fourth in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "What Is the Ultimate Goal of the CPC?"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] There are basically two different kinds of expressions regarding the party's ultimate goal in our past party constitutions since the 7th Party Congress. One is the creation of a communist social system in China. This expression is in the party constitution adopted at the 7th Party Congress. The other expression is the realization of communism. This expression was used in the party constitution adopted at the 9th, 10th and 11th Party Congresses. The new party constitution specifically stipulates that the party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system. This expression is identical to that in the party constitution adopted at the 7th Party Congress. It is a more scientific and precise expression.

Making the creation of a communist social system our party's ultimate goal fully reflects the strong wishes of the proletariat and the people and represents their fundamental interest. It accords with the law regarding society's historical development.

Communism as a movement began the day the Communist Party was founded. The arduous struggles waged by Communist Party members and revolutionary people in the revolutionary period of new democracy were all a part of the communist movement. The socialist revolution and construction carried out after the founding of new China, the magnificent modernization launched today and the daily practice of every faithful Communist Party member in revolution and construction were all part of the communist movement.

At present, there are some comrades who have either lost faith in or have doubts about communism. They regard communism as a dim illusion and unattainable. Seeing that our country is still relatively poor, our social ethics are not very good, our people's consciousness is not very high and too many people are putting money first in everything, they began to doubt communism. Actually, this view is untenable.

Marx said: Socialism came from capitalist society. Therefore, in every aspect, economic, moral or spiritual, socialism has the vestiges of the old society from which it has come. Old China was a semicolonial, semifeudal, backward society. Its productive forces lagged far behind the capitalist countries. These vestiges can in no way be eliminated in a short period of time.

To make things worse, the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques undermined communist theory and movement with ultraleftist arguments during the 10-year internal turmoil. As a result, the body of our party and the thinking of our party members were corroded. After the smashing of the gang of four, we corrected the leftist view which believed that the communist social system would soon be established. Among some people, this led to the erroneous belief that communism is unattainable. We must acquire a correct understanding of communism through study. Communist Party members must cultivate a lofty communist ideal and a firm belief that communism will triumph.

We are now going all out to promote the propaganda and practice of communist ideology; however, this in no way means that we are stirring up a "communist wind." Trying to create a communist social system today, or asking every member of our society to become a communist.

At the present stage of socialism, we must uphold the principle of "to each according to his work" and other socialist practices. We must not repeat past ultraleftist mistakes such as enforcing egalitarianism in the name of promoting communist style. However, as a Communist Party member we must not forget that our bounden duty is to dedicate our whole life to the creation of a communist social system and to the realization of the utmost interest of the vast majority of people.

The realization of the party's ultimate goal depends on the practice of the vast numbers of Communist Party members and hundreds of millions of people. Communist Party members on all fronts should work hard and in a down-to-earth manner to make China a socialist country with a highly developed civilization and democracy, and with modern industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology in order to create conditions for the gradual future transition from socialism to communism.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### FIFTH IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW230120 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 20 Oct 82

[Fifth in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress: "Why Should the CPC Regard Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a Guide for its Actions?"--read by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] The new party constitution clearly points out: The Communist Party of China takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as its guide to action because only by using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will it be possible for us to correctly explain the objective laws in social development, chart the course for the realization of socialism and communism and point out the direction for the struggles waged by the proletariat in various revolutionary periods.

Marxism covers the following three parts:

1. Philosophy. It is represented by dialectical materialism and historical materialism. This philosophy forms the foundation of all the Marxist theories. It represents the world outlook and methodology advocated by the proletariat.
2. Politico-economics. It centers around the surplus value theories.
3. Scientific socialism. By conducting a scientific analysis of the history of the development of class society, Marx and Engels pointed out that class struggle constitutes a motive force for social development, that class struggle will inevitably bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the proletariat is the gravedigger of capitalist society and the creator of a new society. Thus, they pointed out the road for the realization of socialism. At the same time, they scientifically analyzed the conditions for the realization of a communist social system and showed us our magnificent prospects.

All of the aforementioned parts are interrelated and inseparable. They constitute the complete scientific system of Marxism.

The Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative, created Mao Zedong Thought by integrating the universal principles of

Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China. It consists of a body of theoretical principles concerning China's revolution and construction and a summary of experience therein, both of which have been proved correct by practice. It represents the crystallized, collective wisdom of the CPC.

Mao Zedong Thought covers many aspects. In some important aspects, it has creatively enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist as well as theories on the new democratic revolution, theories on socialist revolution and socialist construction, theories on army building and military strategies, theories on policy and tactics, theories on ideological and political work and cultural work, and theories on party building.

Some comrades said: China has entered a new historical period. Our current task is to develop the socialist modernization program. Do we still need to take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as our guide? We do not deny that following the changes in historical conditions, views and conclusions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will also change. When historical conditions have changed, some individual conclusions and views may find themselves not so adaptable. However, the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought represent the scientific truths verified by practice. They will never become outdated.

Only by studying and grasping Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought will it be possible for us to establish a correct world outlook, raise our awareness for communism, foster lofty revolutionary ideals and develop communist ethics. To persistently take Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as the party's guide to action is of great significance in guiding us toward the development of the socialist spiritual civilization.

Some comrades said: Comrade Mao Zedong committed errors in his late years. Why must we take Mao Zedong Thought as our party's guiding ideology? If one tries to negate the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought and deny its role in guiding China's revolution and construction simply because Comrade Mao Zedong made errors in his late years, this attitude is totally wrong and extremely harmful. It occurs mainly because one fails to distinguish the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought which withstood tests over a protracted period from the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his late years.

We must separate the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong and the theories he upheld in his late years from scientific Mao Zedong Thought. It was pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC, which was adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, that Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theorist. It is true that he made gross mistakes during the cultural revolution; however, if we judge his activities as a whole, his contributions to the Chinese revolution far outweigh his mistakes. His merits are primary and his errors secondary.

In short, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has not only guided us in winning victories in the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution, but also guided us in scoring achievements in developing the socialist modernization program. At no time and under no circumstances should we weaken our confidence in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. If our confidence is weakened, we will lose our bearing in making revolution. This is the experience of the CPC and the Chinese people in waging struggles during the past several decades.

Taking Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as our guiding ideology does not mean that we must implement whatever Comrade Mao Zedong said. If one adopts a dogmatic attitude toward Comrade Mao Zedong's words and believes that whatever he said is truth and that his words should only be mechanically copied and blindly followed without the slightest modification, and if one even refuses to realistically admit the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his late years and tries to continue making similar mistakes in practice, one's attitude is absolutely wrong and extremely harmful.

The development of socialist modernization will inevitably impose new demands on the development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In analyzing the new situation and tackling new problems in the course of developing the four modernization program, we must also make use of new scientific conclusions and views that are suited to China's actual conditions to further enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, raise our party's theoretical level and help our party triumphantly forge ahead along the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### SIXTH IN SERIES ON REVISED CPC CONSTITUTION

OW240925 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 21 Oct 82

[Sixth in a series of questions and answers on the study of the party constitution adopted by the 12th National CPC Congress: "What is the Theory of Socialism"--by the General Section of the Research Office Under the CPC Central Committee Secretariat]

[Excerpts] One salient characteristic of the general program in the new party constitution is in its brief and to the point exposition in accordance with the theory of scientific socialism on the course of the development of world history and the historical period in which China finds itself at present and on the superiority of the socialist system and the prospect that, inevitably, this system will gradually prevail throughout the world. This is not found in the party constitutions adopted by the Seventh and Eighth National CPC Congresses.

What is the theory of scientific socialism? The answer is clearly summarized in the third paragraph of the general program in the new party constitution. The theory of scientific socialism is a term used in comparison with utopian socialism which emerged when capitalism was in its embryonic stage and gained wide popularity in the 19th century when capitalism flourished. During the 1940's, having personally participated in the practice of the class struggle waged at that time by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, Marx and Engels carried out their theoretical study and came up with the theory of surplus value and the theory of historical materialism. The theory of surplus value exposed the secret of capitalist exploitation and brought to light the law of the inevitable extinction of capitalism and the inevitable triumph of socialism. The theory of historical materialism expounded the historical position and role of the proletariat and shed light on the social forces to be found which would bury capitalism. Since then socialism has become a science, no longer a utopia.

In accordance with the summarization in the general program of the new party constitution, the main content of the theory of scientific socialism includes the following:

First, the socialist system can be established only through revolutionary struggle waged by the proletariat. In order to carry out its revolutionary struggle, the proletariat must form a party that is armed with scientific

Marxist theory. Without the correct leadership of the party it would be impossible to win victory for the revolution. As for the form in which the revolution is waged and the course of its development, they vary in different countries. It is in view of this that the general program of the new party constitution has used the wording "through revolutionary struggle" by the proletariat instead of "through proletarian revolution" which was frequently used in the past.

Second, after winning victory in its revolutionary struggle, the proletariat must establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to eliminate any resistance by the bourgeoisie and organize for the building of a new economy, politics and culture. It would be empty talk to hold that socialism can be realized without the dictatorship of the proletariat. One fundamental distinction between genuine and sham socialism lies in the question of whether it is necessary to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. As for what form a proletariat political power should adopt for itself and what name it should use for the state, this is a matter to be determined in accordance with the specific situation of each country. The system adopted by China is that of a people's democratic dictatorship, which, in essence, is proletarian dictatorship.

Third, after seizing political power, the proletariat must establish the system of public ownership of the means of production, abolish exploitation and practice the principle "from each according to his ability and to each according to his work."

Fourth, socialist society inevitably advances into communist society.

Analyzing the economic, political geographic and other basic conditions of the capitalist countries in Europe when they created the theory of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels predicted that communist revolution would not limit itself in one country but would simultaneously break out in all civilized countries, at least in England, the United States, France and Germany. Lenin, after analyzing the law of the imbalanced development of capitalist politics and economy when liberal capitalism developed to the stage of imperialism by late 19th century and early 20th century, put forth the theory that socialism probably would prevail in a small number of capitalist countries or, first, in only one of them. This represented a major development of the theory of scientific socialism created by Marx and Engels. While imperialist countries are fighting with each other for their spheres of influence, the liberation struggle of the proletariat is bound to unite with the national liberation struggle of the oppressed nations. It is possible for socialist revolution to first win victory in countries that are weak links of imperialist rule. The victory of the October revolution in Russia and the course of world history during the past half century and more, especially the establishment and development of the socialist system in a number of countries, have borne out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific socialism.

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GONGREN RIBAO' REVIEWS COMMUNISM IN CHINA

HK190855 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Jin Chunming [6855 2504 2494]: "The Communist Movement in China Began a Long Time Ago"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out: "Communist ideology and communist practice existed in the reality of our lives a long time ago." This thesis has forcefully refuted such erroneous viewpoints as "communism is a remote illusion" and "communism is not verified by practice."

When did the communist movement begin in China? The answer is that the movement began after the May 4th movement declared in 1919 when communism study groups were formed in various parts of China. So far, more than 60 years have elapsed in the history of its practice.

Is this a farfetched answer? No, it is not farfetched. Comrade Mao Zedong said a long time ago: On the day the new democratic revolution of China began, it formed part of the proletarian socialist world revolution. The proletarian world revolution means the international communist movement.

"Communism is at once a complete system of proletarian ideology and a new social system." This is what Comrade Mao Zedong clearly explained more than 40 years ago in his famous essay on new democracy. The implementation of the communist system depends on the communist movement. The communist movement is a revolutionary movement led by a proletarian party under the guidance of the Marxist scientific communist ideological system. The ultimate goal of endeavor of this revolutionary movement is the communist social system. Thus, the communist movement is a very long historic process.

As far as the whole world is concerned, this movement began with the establishment of the communist league. The Manifesto of the Communist Party, published in 1848 is the first complete scientific programme of the communist movement.

In China, after the birth of the Communist Party, the new democratic revolutionary struggle under the leadership of our party was taken as "communist heresy" by the reactionary ruling classes. They loudly called out the "communism does not suit the situation of China," they wanted to get rid of communism, otherwise, they did not feel comfortable. This fact has demonstrated

that we ourselves and our class enemies take the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the CPC as the all time communist movement.

But, before the founding of the PRC, what we were engaged in was the new democratic revolution. Judging from its nature, it belongs to the category of bourgeois-democratic revolution. Is it suitable to call it the communist movement? Some people may raise such a question. We think that it is not at all unsuitable. Judging from its objective nature, the new democratic revolution belongs to the category of bourgeois-democratic revolution, but, judging from its subjective guidance, it is essentially different from the old democratic revolution. The differences are mainly:

1. Different cosmologies. The new democratic revolution has completely shaken off bourgeois idealism and the view that history is made by heroes. The new democratic revolution is based on the scientific cosmology of communism, which means that the revolution depends on the dialectical materialism of Marxism for its behavioral guidance. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: The Chinese democratic revolution cannot be successful without the guidance of communism, to say nothing of the later stage of the revolution.

2. Different leadership. The leaders of the old democratic revolution were the bourgeoisie, while the leaders of the new democratic revolution are the proletariat (the revolution is realized through the Communist Party, its vanguard). The question of leadership power is an extremely important question that is closely related with the success, failure and the future development of the revolution. A series of important changes was caused by the difference in the revolutionary leadership. In his essay on contradiction, Comrade Mao Zedong briefly outlined the changes. He said: Proletarian leadership has fundamentally changed the whole face of the revolution, has brought about a new alignment of classes, given rise to a tremendous upsurge in the peasant revolution, imparted thoroughness to the revolution against imperialism and feudalism, created the possibility of the transition from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution and so on. None of these changes was possible in the period when the revolution was under bourgeois leadership.

Of course, we can list other differences, but it is just these two which determine the difference in the nature of matters. These two happen to explain why China's new democratic revolution has overtaken the old system of bourgeois world revolution. Under the guidance of communist cosmology, carry out revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the proletariat; these are the necessary component parts of the international communist movement. Many martyrs of the revolution harbored this magnificent goal of the future and bravely dedicated their lives to this anti-imperialist, anti-feudal bourgeois democratic revolution in order that the most magnificent communist social system would gradually be established in China. Li Dazho, one of the founders of our party, firmly believed that "the future world must be a world of red banners." When beneath the gallows, he solemnly announced: We deeply believe that communism will certainly win the glorious victory in China and in the world. Peng Pai, the first member of our party to organize the peasant movement, gave away his property and status and devoted his life to the great cause of the liberation of the peasants and laborers until his life was

sacrificed in order that the "communist system is practiced and that great harmony is enjoyed by the world." It should be said that all loyal members of the CPC and the CYL and all people who bravely struggle under the guidance of the Communist Party, regardless of the fact of what they have done or are doing in the stage of new democratic revolution or did in the stage of socialist revolution and construction, have committed deeds which are part of the communist movement and communist practice in itself. Now, on the base of the fact that glorious victory has been achieved by our party, the party is leading the working class and the whole people to strive to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. The people of our country will march forward along the glorious road of the communist movement with even greater strides.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### BA YI DEMANDS ACQUITTAL OF FORMER PLA LEADERS

OW120303 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Text] The fact that Huang Yongsheng, Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and Qiu Huizuo—who were imprisoned because of implication in the phony Lin Biao case—have been transferred to a military hospital for treatment shows that there is a certain change in their situation. This fact certainly draws the attention of many people in the armed forces. Many leading comrades in the armed forces have long been dissatisfied with the unjust trial of these former leaders of our armed forces. This station has time and again demanded that Huang Yongsheng and other former leaders of our armed forces be released, that the unjust case in which many military cadres at all levels were implicated be reexamined, and that the issue concerning the phony case of Lin Biao concocted by the gang of four be fundamentally resolved.

We have repeatedly stated that the accusation against the former leaders of our armed forces was principally based on the so-called conspiracy plotted by the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique—a case fabricated by the gang of four. Although the former leading comrades of our armed forces argued strongly on just grounds and in spite of the many ironclad truths which show that there simply was not a so-called Lin Biao clique, much less the so-called conspiracy of usurpation of party and state power, certain leaders of the central authorities, in total disregard of facts and witnesses' testimonies, arbitrarily demanded the court return an unjust verdict. Thus legal grounds for trying the phony case concocted by the gang of four was created, Huang Yongsheng and other former leaders of our armed forces were thrown into jail, and many cadres in the armed forces were implicated.

The so-called case of the Lin Biao clique has actually been used as a cudgel to hit and persecute cadres in the armed forces, and this is why many cadres within the armed forces, particularly those in the middle and upper echelons, have been infuriated and disturbed. Although the mistried former leaders of our armed forces have now been transferred from prison to hospital, they are not treated as the victims of other unjust and phony cases. Rather, their transfer has been interpreted as a so-called act of revolutionary humanitarianism. In other words, it is something like magnanimity for the criminals, and not a just rehabilitation of the former leaders of our armed forces and an overturning of all the groundless charges against them. This is extremely wrong. In accordance with the principle that all mistakes must be corrected,

the charges and the verdicts against the former leaders of our armed forces must be frankly and honestly acknowledged as unjust, and these former leaders of our armed forces must be rehabilitated and acquitted. Furthermore, all unjust cases against those who have been implicated by the phony case of Lin Biao must be retried within a short period, so that the issue concerning the case can be thoroughly resolved as soon as possible. By no means should the case be continually used to persecute the broad masses of cadres.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### BA YI CRITICIZES PRC LEADERS FOR TRUSTING U.S.

OW170955 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 16 Oct 82

[Text] U.S. President Reagan's recent statement was another interference of U.S. imperialism in China's internal affairs, and another insult to our national pride. In the face of such brazen aggressive behavior of the United States, how can we remain polite and courteous toward this bunch of imperialist gangsters?

However, XINHUA News Agency and RENMIN RIBAO, following instructions from above, only complained that the Americans had contradicted the joint Sino-U.S. communique and politely criticized Reagan for going back on his promise to sincerely seek to improve relations with China. Actually, the matter should be dealt with in a totally different manner.

As everyone knows, the People's Republic of China is an independent country. How can we allow the U.S. imperialist chieftains to blackmail us? How can we allow U.S. imperialism to send us an ultimatum and listen in silence to their statement that the United States will reduce and ultimately stop selling weapons to the Kuomintang, provided the PRC fulfills its commitment to reunification with Taiwan by peaceful means, and so on and so forth.

This shows that U.S. imperialism is rudely trying to blackmail us and demanding that we accept their arbitrary behavior, and that only when we do so will they agree to stop interfering in our international affairs. One cannot help wondering how much longer certain central leaders will continue tolerating U.S. imperialism's anti-China policy. How can they believe in U.S. imperialism's statements, promises and commitments?

Historical experience tells us that U.S. imperialism will never stop deceiving the people of other countries. However, for some unknown reason, a few central leading comrades trust U.S. imperialism and the promises and commitments it had made on the Taiwan question. Having been repeatedly deceived by the United States, they not only have lost face themselves but, more serious, they have allowed the Americans to encroach on China's sovereignty and violate the Chinese people's national pride.

The main cause of the present situation is that on the question of Sino-U.S. relations, certain leaders have abandoned the correct class stand and forgotten

the simple truth: In the face of imperialist aggressive schemes, only by waging an unrelenting struggle can we reliably defend our state sovereignty and national pride.

The history of U.S. imperialist aggression against China over the past more than 140 years shows us that in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist gangsters we cannot depend on courtesy toward their leaders, polite criticism and weak complaints about their aggressive behavior. Only by waging tit-for-tat struggle can we crush the anti-China schemes of U.S. imperialism, the deadly enemy of the Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' ON CARRYING OUT CONGRESS DIRECTIVES

HK071310 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Sun Qimeng [1327 6386 1322]: "What I Understand from the Principles of 'Long-Term Coexistence, Mutual Supervision' and 'Being Utterly Sincere to One Another, Sharing Honor and Disgrace'"]

[Text] In his report at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Our party will continue to adhere to the principles of 'long-term coexistence, mutual supervision' and 'being utterly sincere to one another, sharing honor and disgrace' and strengthen our cooperation with the various democratic parties, nonparty democratic personalities, minority nationality personalities and the religious circle patriots." We should attach great importance to and deeply understand this directive of the party Central Committee for this is a fundamental guiding policy of the party Central Committee on the problem related to the united front during the new historic period. My understanding of this policy is as follows:

1. The principle of "long-term coexistence, mutual supervision" was put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong in April 1956 in his article entitled "On the Ten Major Relations." Comrade Mao Zedong said, "it is good to have several parties. They have not only coexisted for a long time and supervised one another in the past but they will continue to do so in the future." In his article "On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions Among the People" published in February 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong further expounded on this important idea. The putting forward of this principle was a great event in the political life of our country and is also a new contribution that our party has made to the theory of scientific socialism.

2. "Being utterly sincere to one another and sharing honor and disgrace" was put forward by Comrade Hu Yaobang in January 1982 at the National United Front Work Conference. He said: "I think that we should clearly point out to the whole party and at the same time tell friends outside our party that during the new historical period, we must establish a relationship of being utterly sincere to one another and sharing honor and disgrace between friends outside our party and ourselves." Here, we should pay attention to the time -- "the new historical period" -- that Comrade Hu Yaobang mentioned in talking about the idea. This means that this relationship emerges and develops under the new historical period. In his opening speech at the second session of the

Fifth CPPCC in June 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping told us: "Our state has entered a new historical period in which the key task is to realize the four modernizations. Accordingly, our revolutionary united front has also entered a new historical stage of development." The key distinctive features of this new historical period and of this new historical stage of development are: First, the people of all nationalities on all fronts throughout the country are concentrating their energy on carrying out socialist modernization; and second, the state of affairs related to the classes in our society has undergone a radical change and all the democratic parties have already become the political leagues of the socialist laborers and the patriots who support socialism and whom these democratic parties respectively have contact with, and thus all the democratic parties have become political forces that serve socialism under the leadership of the CPC. These historical conditions have determined that the essence of the new relationship between party and nonparty members is a relationship of "being utterly sincere to one another and sharing honor and disgrace."

3. The 16-character principle that Comrade Hu Yaobang put forth on behalf of the party Central Committee at the 12th Party Congress is the further profound development of our party's theory and policies on the united front under the new situation, and it sets an example of developing Mao Zedong thought at the same time adhering to it. Our party's principles and policies have been formulated in light of actual conditions. The development and growth of the united front has provided a reliable basis for the formulation of the 16-character principle. I should like to only give the example of a few figures of the number of members of the CPPCC and the number of members of various democratic parties. The number of representatives to the First National CPPCC was 662, and 180 of them were selected committee members. The number of committee members who attended the first session of the second CPPCC rose to 559, those who attended the first session of the third CPPCC increased to 1,041 and those who attended the first session of the fourth CPPCC was 1,199. When the first session of the fifth CPPCC was held in 1978 after the smashing of the "gang of four," the number of committee members increased to 1,988, and it rose to 2,054 when the fourth session was held. By the end of 1981 the number of members of the 29 provincial, regional and municipal CPPCC committees was 15,931. The number of members of county CPPCC committees throughout the country was about 130,000. Thus the members of the CPPCC committees at various levels constitute a massive rank of 150,000 people representing extensively broad masses in various circles. During the past 3 years, local CPPCC organizations have remarkably developed. By now, 1,604 county (municipal or district) CPPCC organizations have been recovered or newly established in various provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the central government. They constitute about 56 percent of the 2,864 county-level CPPCC organizations in the whole country. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, during the past 3 years, the 8 democratic parties in our country have recruited more than 35,000 new members and they now have more than 700 local organizations and more than 4,000 basic-level branches. According to incomplete statistics, more than 10,000 members of the democratic parties have been denominated as model workers, advanced workers, teachers of a special classification or March 8 Red Banner holders or have been awarded with various kinds of science or technology prizes. It is precisely because

the party Central Committee has been able to formulate and put forward, in light of the above-mentioned actual conditions, the 16-character strategic principle of "long-term coexistence, mutual supervision", and "being utterly sincere to one another, sharing honor and disgrace," which governs the united front work.

4. As we have said, this 16-character principle has merged what was put forward under different historical conditions and has been regarded as an integrated principle and published both at home and abroad. This requires us to correctly understand its true meaning.

Because of some historical and actual conditions, the policies of maintaining equality and developing cooperation between various parties have been carried out in our country under the leadership of the CPC. This is a special feature and a strong point of our country's political system. The task of satisfactorily developing the cooperation between the various parties under the leadership of the CPC is an important part of the task of building up a highly-developed socialist democracy. Carrying out and strengthening the cooperation between the CPC and the various democratic parties is required for the fulfillment of the general task of the new historical period and the requirements for the fulfillment in the 1980's of the three major tasks of strengthening economic modernization, promoting the reunification of the motherland and safeguarding world peace. The 12th Party Congress has clearly called for striving to achieve a radical change for the better in our country's financial and economic situation and in the general mood of society. In order to achieve these goals, it is also necessary to continuously strengthen the party's cooperation with the various democratic parties and the personalities in various circles. Many facts have proved that it is obvious to all that these parties and personalities have made contributions to the fulfillment of the above-mentioned general task and specific tasks and that they have even played a role that other organizations and individuals have been unable to play. Our practical experiences and the development of the situation have more and more convincingly made us realize that the principle of long-term coexistence of the CPC and the democratic parties is indeed a Marxist idea of outstanding insight.

The concept of mutual supervision has different meaning and characteristics under different historical conditions. In his "On the Correct Handling of the Contradictions Among the People," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that mutual supervision will be achieved by putting forward opinions and making criticism, and that letting the democratic parties supervise the CPC is aimed at letting the party hear different views. He also pointed out that the CPC is mainly supervised by the laboring people and the masses of party members. This kind of mutual supervision is the reflection of the historical conditions in our country at the time when socialist transformation had just been basically achieved. When our country has entered a new historical period, the mutual supervision is imbued with new meaning and characteristics. The most basic of the new meaning and characteristics is that between the party and nonparty members a relationship of "being sincere to one another and sharing honor and disgrace" has already been established. The party and the various democratic parties have already had their common goal of struggle and

common basic interests. Since their major goals are identical, they will naturally share honor when they succeed and share disgrace when they fail. Since their basic interests are identical, naturally they should only be open and sincere to one another and share trouble and travail. True, contradictions will crop up between them and a difference in opinion will emerge, but these contradictions and differences that are based on an identity of basic interests. The correct handling of these contradictions is a motive force that promotes the progress of our common cause. Under the new historical conditions the supervision of the democratic parties over the CPC coincide with their full cooperation with the CPC. That is to say that the supervision is precisely aimed at strengthening the cooperation. At present, though giving opinions and making criticisms are still important forms of mutual supervision, more and more facts have shown that pooling wisdom and strength and making common efforts to do their common jobs satisfactorily has gradually become the chief form of mutual supervision. One of the vivid examples of this is that during the past few years the various democratic parties have quickly developed various kinds of advisory services, established diverse forms of educational facilities and helped to provide jobs to youths who are awaiting jobs. All members of the democratic parties are masters of the country and are a part of the laboring people. Therefore, there is no distinction between being the principal and being the supplementary in supervising the CPC. Generally speaking, the mutual supervision during the new period is a supervision characterized by being sincere to one another and sharing honor and disgrace. This supervision is an effective measure for developing socialist democracy and strengthening the cooperation between the party and nonparty members.

The "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC" very correctly points out: "In order to persistently exercise the party's leadership, we must improve the party's leadership." This is a basic experience that has resulted from the summing up by the party of both the positive and the negative experiences it has gained since the founding of the PRC. In order to persistently exercise and improve the party's leadership it is necessary for the party to be supervised by the democratic parties. The only aim of this supervision is to persistently exercise and improve the party's leadership. All ideas and practices of setting the supervision over the CPC against the CPC's leadership are wrong.

The correct and overall understanding and the resolute carrying out the principle of "long-term coexistence, mutual supervision" and "being sincere to one another, sharing honor and disgrace" is one of the major subjects and tasks in our study and implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### LINFEN BRIGADE PRAISES CONGRESS POLICIES

HK200719 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 82 p 1

[Report: "The No. 1 Artillery Company of a Certain Regiment of Linfen Brigade of Nanjing PLA Units Praises Policies Laid Down by 3d Plenary Session of 11th CPC Central Committee, Saying the Day of Real Communism Is Not Far Off"]

[Text] Reporters Gu Guopu [7357 0948 3877] and Wu Dongfeng [0702 2639 1496] report: The No. 1 artillery company of a certain regiment of the Linfen brigade of the Nanjing PLA units has freely discussed the documents of the 12th Party Congress in relation with practice, eliminated the "leftist" influence in communist propaganda and more deeply understood the great historic turn. The fighters said: The conscientious implementation of the policies and principles laid down by the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has enabled us to leave sham communism far behind, and the day of real communism is not far off.

The cadres and fighters, in talking about the change brought to their native villages by the third plenary session, were evidently all pleased. However, some of the comrades were not so sure. Although they could see that the present situation is definitely good, that society is stable, there are more things to buy and that peasants have become prosperous. Nevertheless, they did not know whether this way of doing things was in keeping with the great communist goal or not? In the light of such misgivings, political instructor Li Jianguo organized everybody to study Hu Yaobang's report to the 12th Party Congress and Hu Qiaomu's article "On the Practice of Communist Ideology." They compared the scientific expositions of the party concerning the building of socialist theory and policies with "leftist" propaganda and methods before the third plenary session, and saw clearly that the shifting of the whole party's focus of work to economic construction, correcting egalitarianism and "eating from the same big pot" and adhering to the principle of distribution according to work have changed the abstract into reality, the one-sided into the all-round and the subjective and unscientific into the scientific in the guidance of theory and policy. This way of doing things is not going backward, but is an important step toward communism.

Will the advocacy of becoming prosperous through labor cause people to become more selfish and deviate further and further from the communist ideological level? Lin Renda, leader of the No. 6 squad said: I was a bit worried at

the beginning, but numerous facts have eliminated my misgivings. The care given to my family by our native village is an example. The subsidy was 33 yuan in the first year and 70 yuan in the second year. It was increased to 200 yuan last year. This explains that most of the peasants who advocate becoming prosperous through labor are not just thinking of themselves and not of others and are not obsessed by a lust for money.

On the question of how to deal with the reduce distinctions, fighter Hu Xiaolian said: We suffered from "leftist" influence in the past and would think of polarization the moment distinctions were mentioned. Since the institution of contract responsibility, a household with the minimum amount of labor in our village also has 3 to 4 hundred yuan in savings at the end of the year. This explains that there is only the distinction of more or less and faster or slower prosperity in our country and the tragedy of polarization will not appear.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO' ON CPC-CYL RELATIONSHIP

HK011346 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 25 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Chen Haosu [7115 8513 5685]: "A Talk on the Relationship Between the Party and the CYL--Some Thoughts After Studying Chapter X of the CPC Constitution"]

[Text] In discussing and deciding such issues as the important strategic policies of the whole party, the 12th party congress had at the same time paid special attention to the youth movement and CYL work. This has elated and inspired the broad masses of league members and cadres.

The extraordinary close relationship between the party and the CYL has a tradition of more than 60 years. The Chinese Socialist Youth League of the early days had been the earliest of the communist groups to emerge in quick succession to play a role in the building of the party. After the founding of the CPC, the youth movement has consequently had its own undisputable leader--this is the party. In spite of whatever changes there may have been in the formal title of the CYL, it has always been the party's close assistant and reliable reserve force.

We say the party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress is the most perfect and the best of all party constitutions since the founding of the party. The provisions on the relationship between the party and the league in the party constitution have also explained this point.

#### I

The party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress has defined the character of the CYL, namely, "the CYL of China is a mass organization of advanced young people under the leadership of the CPC." "It is a school where large numbers of young people will learn about communism through practice," and "it is the party's assistant and reserve force." Such explicit comprehensive stipulations have never been made in all previous party constitutions.

The party constitution of the Eighth Party Congress only stipulated in principle that the CYL must work under the leadership of the party. As for the character of the league, apart from pointing out that the league was the party's assistant, it had not made any specific stipulation. This is easily

understandable, because stipulations on the character of the league should be written into the league constitution. Now, the 12th Party Congress has specially defined the character of the CYL. This shows the special importance attached by the party to the league and the unusual relationship between the party and the league. The CYL had once been called the Young Communist League. It resembled the Communist Party in that it was also a militant collective of communists and a higher form of class organization of the working class. The CYL has politically and organizationally always accepted the leadership of the party and, at the same time, displayed the party spirit and advanced quality of the proletariat in all its practical activities. The leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee have on numerous occasions stressed to us the necessity of understanding that the CYL is different from other mass organizations. The stipulations on the relationship between the party and the league in the party constitution of the 12th Party Congress this time have again emphasized this point to us.

As regard being a mass organization of advanced young people, this determines that the CYL is the core for uniting and educating young people. Your people are generally divided into such different states as advanced, intermediate and backward. We must organize the advanced young people into a militant collective, unite and draw in the masses of young people in the intermediate state and, at the same time, help and educate the backward young people. This is exactly the glorious responsibility of the CYL.

As regards large numbers of young people learning communism through practice, this has already developed into a tradition since the setting up of the CYL. The addition of the words "through practice" in the party constitution of the 12th Party Congress has expressed this matter even more clearly. Lenin in "the tasks of the youth league," when expounding that the task of communist youths and young people in general is to learn communism, pointed out: This absolutely cannot be limited to only reading pamphlets on communism, but must be closely connected to seething practical struggle. Communism is a kind of social system but, at the same time, is also a real revolutionary movement. The Chinese communist movement already has a history of more than 60 years and communist factors have developed in practice. What we must do is to learn communism from these 60 long years of history as well as the extensive reality already developed today. Are we not at present criticizing "the theory of communism is an illusion?" The party constitution's explicit stipulation that the CYL is a school for learning communism through practice has been precisely advanced in the light of this "theory of illusion." "Our daily life contains communism and cannot be separated from communism." This basic fact is precisely the premise for learning communism through practice.

As regards the league being the party's assistant and reserve force, this is a move forward in comparison with the stipulation of the constitution of the Eighth Party Congress, and the wording "reserve force" has been added. The wording "assistant and reserve force" had been written into the league constitution of the second league congress in 1953, but the party constitution of the Eighth Party Congress in 1957 only wrote "assistant," so the league constitution of the Third League Congress in 1957 also deleted the wording "reserve force." After 25 years, the party constitution has again put in "reserve force." The 11th League Congress, which will be held soon, must also

consider restoring the wording "reserve force." It should be pointed out that not mentioning "reserve force" in the past was only an oversight and did not mean to say that the CYL at that time was not the party's reserve force. On 16 September 1956, in his report on revising the party constitution, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The entire history of the CYL shows that it is the party's reliable reserve force and able assistant." In explaining the reason for deleting the wording "reserve force," the report to the Third League Congress in May 1957 said: The role of assistant in fact also includes the role of reserve force. From this we can see that restoring the wording "reserve force" at present does not endow new content to the character of the CYL, but is a reaffirmation of historical experience. In spite of this, this change will still greatly encourage our 48 million CYL members. As a matter of fact, it is precisely because the CPC Central Committee understands the strong desire on the part of the league members and cadres that it decided to make this revision.

## II

By means of the party constitution, the 12th Party Congress has called on party committees at all levels to strengthen leadership over the league, support the work of the league and give full play to the role of league organizations. This is giving enormous support to our CYL in actual work.

The party has attached great importance to the promotion and training of league cadres. This is an important matter closely related to making the cadre ranks of the whole party more revolutionary, younger, better educated and professionally more competent. Many veteran cadres of the CPC Central Committee have emphasized the need to look for successors to the revolution from the CYL ranks. The restoration of the wording "reserve force" contains this intention. In the history of the last 60 years, the CYL has infused a large number of outstanding cadres into the party. At present, many of the leading cadres working in the party and state have been tempered and raised in our CYL ranks. The party places great hope on our present CYL ranks. Comrade Chen Yun has called for the promotion of tens of thousands of young cadres, and most of them are in our CYL ranks. All our league members and cadres should therefore understand their glorious responsibility.

Regarding the question of what kind of role the league should play in the revolutionary struggle, the party constitution of the 12th Party Congress has put forward two points: One is to give play to the role as a shock force, and the other is to give play to the role as a bridge linking the party with the broad masses of young people. In 1959, Comrade Hu Yaobang put forward in a speech a proposal for three support contingents: In the great struggle for achieving communist ideals, the party is the vanguard force, the league is the shock force and the young pioneer is the reserve force. This, of course, may also be said to be a formulation of the relationship between the party and the league as well as the character of the league. The party constitution of the 12th Party Congress has embodied this idea of Comrade Hu Yaobang. We should correct a kind of traditional misunderstanding. That is, laying particular emphasis on interpreting the league's role of a shock force as a role on the economic front when in fact the party constitution is not inclined to interpret it as such. Lenin used to say that the Young Communist League must be a shock force, helping in every job and displaying initiative and

enterprise. Lenin's interpretation was comprehensive and so is Comrade Hu Yaobang's interpretation. We should pay attention to this point. Regarding the role as a bridge, this is clearly related to the league being the core for uniting and educating the young people mentioned before, and there is no need for further elaboration.

### III

The party constitution adopted by the 12th Party Congress has restored a very fine tradition in our party history, namely, the stipulation that under certain conditions league cadre may attend the meetings of party committee and standing committee of party committee at the corresponding levels. Concerning this matter, we must recount the formulations of previous party constitutions.

On 1 June 1927, the "decision of the Communist Party of China on the third revised constitution" (this was the fifth constitution in our party history), approved by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, listed for the first time this chapter on the relationship between the party and the youth league and stipulated that youth league organizations at various levels may attend the meetings of party organizations at the corresponding levels as well as enjoy the right to vote. At the same time, it also stipulated in the conditions for admission of party members that people under 20 years of age must join the party through the youth league. This clearly affirmed from the party and league organizational work system the close relationship between the party and the league.

The party constitution approved by the Sixth Party Congress in July 1928 retained this chapter on the relationship between the party and the league and also stipulated that leading party and league organs from party or league branches to the Central Committee should send representatives to each other's meetings and also exchange speaking and voting rights. At the same time, it stipulated that Young Communist League members (CYL members) joining the party may be introduced by the Young Communist Committee.

The party constitution adopted by the Eighth Party Congress on 26 September 1956 restored the stipulation on the relationship between the party and the league, but the focus had shifted to the leadership of the party over the league and the role of the league as the party's assistant. There was no longer the stipulation regarding league cadres participating in meetings of the party.

In the party constitution of the 9th, 10th and 11th Party Congresses which followed, there was no stipulation on the relationship between the party and the league, and there is no need for an explanation.

During the preparatory period for the 12th Party Congress, an old senior member working the CPC Central Committee, out of concern for the work of the league, wrote several letters to the leading comrade of the Central Committee suggesting the restoration of the historical relationship between the party and the league. After taking into consideration such actual conditions as the party having become the ruling party throughout the country since the nationwide liberation and the extensiveness and complexity of the party's leadership

work, the 12th Party Congress made the present stipulation in the party constitution: "Those secretaries of league committees at or below the county level or in enterprises and institutions who are party members, may attend meetings of party committees at the corresponding level and of their standing committee."

Quite obviously, this stipulation in the party constitution of the 12th Party Congress is aimed at restoring the fine tradition of previous party constitutions. However, it has also taken actual conditions into consideration and is not bringing back intact the party constitution of the Sixth Party Congress or those before the Sixth Party Congress.

The significance of restoring this stipulation is very clear. Comrade Hu Qiaomu explained: "This will contribute to bringing closer the relationship between the party and the CYL and help the leading members of the CYL organizations to become mature." On the one hand, league cadres attending party meetings will be able to very concretely learn how to handle problems in the leadership work of the party and thereby enhance their abilities and accumulate experience. On the other hand, party cadres can directly observe and get to know the league cadres in these meetings and can also pass on experience, give help and set examples. In this way, large numbers of league cadres will grow to maturity more quickly and the CYL will be able to play a more useful role as the party's assistant and reserve force.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'TIANJIN RIBAO' URGES OBSERVING PARTY DISCIPLINE

HK210216 Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "Party Members Must Spontaneously Observe Party Discipline"]

[Text] The activity of studying, propagating and implementing the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress has developed on all fronts of the municipality. Whether we can enthusiastically study and propagate the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and determinedly and seriously carry out the resolutions of the 12th CPC National Congress are indications of whether party members and cadres hold any political differences with the central committee. The masses of cadres and party members of the municipality should regard this political activity of the whole people and the whole country as an important lesson in the training of party spirit and the organizing of improving discipline. They should promote their exemplary role among the masses and strive to implement the party's historic mission in a new period.

In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: The party's ideological construction is a pillar of the construction of socialist spiritual civilization. The major content of ideological construction includes the Marxist world outlook and the scientific theory of the working class, communist ideal, faith and morality, the master ideology and collectivism which suits the socialist system of public ownership, the concept of rights and obligations and organization of discipline which suits the socialist political system, the devotion to serving the people and the communist attitude concerning work, socialist patriotism and internationalism and so on. To briefly summarize it, the most important ones are the revolutionary ideal, morality and discipline. The advanced personages of the party and society must continuously spread advanced ideology, promote their exemplary role through actual practice and embody more and more members of society with a lofty ideal and morality, become more cultured and observe discipline.

At the present moment, why is the party not only emphasizing that the masses of party members have communist ideals and communist morality and be more cultured but also that the party's discipline be strictly observed? The observance of the party's unitary discipline ensures that the party will lead the people to seize victory in our revolution and construction. One of the evil influences left by the 10 years of turmoil of the "great cultural revolution" was that there are still some comrades who harbor anarchism. They are

indifferent to the concept of organization and they are lax in discipline; some hold different political and ideological ideas from the Central Committee, freely interpret the party's line, principles and policies as they please, taking what he needs and some even comply with the Central Committee in public to oppose it in private or even openly resist orders; some are imbued with individualism, strive for fame, status and high pay, do not accept jobs or full-fill tasks assigned to them by the party; some have abandoned the party's principles, adhere to factionalism, exchange flattery and favors, form small coteries, attack advanced personages and harbor evildoers and cover up their evil deeds; some are imbued with liberalism, and when they hold different opinions, they do not express them at meetings but instead express them in an unruly manner after the meeting, do not express opinions in public but express them in an unruly manner in private, and freely betray confidential matters; some ignore party discipline and the law, take advantage of their positions and resort to dishonest practices, infringe upon the interests of the people and the country, smuggle and sell smuggled goods, are corrupt and receive bribes, embezzle state property, take the criminal road and so on. Under such conditions, it is extremely necessary to emphasize the strict observance of party discipline.

Lenin has pointed out that if party spirit and party discipline were defied, all proletarian revolutionary movements would fail. Comrade Mao Zedong has also said that unitary discipline was the necessary condition for revolutionary victory. The organizational disciplinary character is collectively expressed in the unity of practical action with the party members' understanding of the correctness of the party's line, principles and policies. The new party constitution formulated at the 12th CPC National Congress makes the high degree of political and ideological unity a fundamental demand which is imposed on the whole party. Is it possible to achieve a high degree of political and ideological unity without vigorous organization and iron discipline? Is it possible for the masses of party members not to spontaneously strengthen training in party spirit and organize disciplinary cultivation? Obviously, it is impossible. Party members and cadres on all fronts of the municipality should take the party's line, principles and policies as their code of conduct and unitary discipline and fully implement them. At this moment, it is necessary for us to be the first in studying well the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, deeply understand the strategic objective, strategic focus, strategic steps and the series of correct principles adopted by the party in our economic development in the following 20 years, unify ideologies and actions with the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and unify and lead the masses in creating a new situation on all fronts.

Being full of vigor and vitality and with strict discipline is the work style which the party constantly emphasizes. Now that we want to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, the mission is difficult and there are many hardships, but it is especially necessary for us to maintain this fine work style. Some comrades simply interpret the party discipline as: Accepting the assignment of the organization, taking part in the meetings on time and paying the party membership dues on time. This is a very superficial understanding.

Party discipline involves many aspects. The party's principle of democratic centralism -- the minority is subordinate to the majority, lower-level organizations are subordinate to organizations at higher levels and all party members and organizations are subordinate to the national congress and the Central Committee is an extremely important rule of discipline; the party constitution contains the laws and regulations of the party, with the provisions concerning the obligations and rights of the party members in the party constitution an aspect of the party's important discipline; all party members should unconditionally implement the laws, decrees and relevant regulations promulgated by the state and the line, principles, policies and resolutions adopted by the party in various periods. If they are violated, party discipline is violated; that Communist Party members should wholeheartedly serve the people and that they should not infringe upon the interests of the people, the collective and the state is also an aspect of party discipline. The new party constitution passed by the 12th CPC National Congress places the strengthening of party discipline in an extremely important position, as it clearly provides that all members are equally subject to party discipline, that there shall be no privileged party members who do not participate in the regular activities of the party organizations and do not accept supervision by the masses inside and outside the party, that the party duly criticizes or punishes those members who violate party discipline and that party members who violate the law and administrative discipline shall be subject to administrative disciplinary action or legal action instituted by administrative or judicial organs and so on. All party members and cadres must be familiar with and learn by heart all the disciplinary provisions in the party constitution, know what is right and what is not, keep themselves within the bounds of party discipline, overcome blindness and strengthen spontaneity. In addition, it is necessary to unify strict organization discipline with a high degree of spontaneity and creativity to study new problems and create new situations.

An important way to spontaneously observe party discipline, is to perfect the party's system of organization life, and in accordance with the demands imposed on party members by the party, seriously carry out criticism and self-criticism. The new party constitution has imposed stricter demands on party members and cadres than in the past. Eight duties of party members have been provided: To perseveringly execute the party's decisions, accept any job and actively fulfill any task assigned them by the party; be the first to bear hardships and to last to enjoy comforts, work selflessly for the public interest, and absolutely never use public office for personal gain or to benefit themselves at the expense of the public; uphold the party's solidarity and unity, firmly oppose factionalism; be loyal to and honest with the party, match words with deeds, back good people and good deeds and fight against bad people and bad deeds. Stricter demands are imposed on cadres. In addition to playing the exemplary role of the party members, six basic requirements are provided. For instance, they are required to be able to adhere to the socialist road, fight against the hostile forces disrupting socialism and combat all erroneous tendencies inside and outside the party, persistently proceed from reality and properly carry out the line, principles and policies of the party; have a democratic work style, maintain close ties with the masses and conscientiously accept criticism and supervision by the masses and so on.

These demands are the party rules and discipline, and the criterion of action for all party members and cadres. Party organizations at all levels should further perfect the party's system of life, strengthen education party members and cadres on law and discipline observance and make them understand that all party members, regardless of position, qualifications and records of service and contributions, must strictly observe party discipline, conscientiously participate in organization life and accept supervision of the masses. It is necessary to create all kinds of opportunities and conditions, organize the use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, continuously wash away the political dust on our bodies, praise the good people and good deeds and the exemplary models in discipline observance, criticize the violation of law and discipline and fight against the bad people, bad deeds and bad tendencies disrupting party discipline so as to maintain the solemn nature of party discipline. As long as all comrades of our party understand party discipline from the high plane of party spirit, establish the firm concept of organization discipline and strive to keep in step in their work, the combat strength of our party will be greatly promoted and new situations in all departments will be created.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGZHOU CITES HONG KONG PAPERS ON THATCHER REMARKS

HK301123 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2350 GMT 29 Sep 82

[Text] Hong Kong papers recently published commentaries and articles one after another and reported the talks of some personages. They opposed the statement of British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher, who insists that the unequal treaties which great Britain imposed on China in the 19th century should continue to be valid.

Yesterday's [29 September] HSIN PAO commentary said that it is to be expected that China reaffirms its sovereignty over Hong Kong and that what is contrary to our expectations is that Britain sticks to the treaties. Declaring that the treaties will be adhered to will impair the national pride of the Chinese people.

The English-language HONG KONG STANDARD, also said in its editorial of yesterday that the British position, based firmly on yellowing documents of a bygone era, appears to be an obstinate 'even anachronistic' one.

On 26 September, KUAI PAO quoted from the statement of Lawyer Liao Yao-chu that the negotiations between China and Britain should be conducted on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. Now, Mrs Thatcher adheres to the unequal treaties as a principle and does not represent the will of the people in Hong Kong.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BEIJING RIBAO' ON GIVING YOUTH COMMUNIST OUTLOOK

HK191015 Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Oct 82 p 4

[Feature: "Comrade Xingzhbenshi [6717 6321 1835] Speaks on Tasks on the Philosophy Front After the 12th Party Congress"]

[Text] Editorial note: Xing Benshi, responsible person and research student at the Institute of Philosophy, which is under the Academy of Social Sciences, delivered an opening speech at the 3d National Symposium of Modern Philosophy of Foreign Countries, which was held in the last 10 days of September. He talked among other things, about the tasks on the philosophy front after the 12th Party Congress, particularly the role of studying the modern philosophy of foreign countries in building socialist spiritual civilization. Excerpts have been published as follows: [end editor's note]

Comrade Deng Xiaoping, in his opening speech at the 12th Party Congress, and Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report to the 12th Party Congress, pointed out that socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system, that socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and the ideological, and the communist ideology is the core of socialist spiritual civilization. These important ideas have greatly inspired us. Philosophy is a branch of science, a system of knowledge and a kind of social ideology. It therefore shoulders the dual task of building socialist culture and ideology. The role of philosophy in building communist ideology is particularly not to be ignored.

The Marxist philosophy is the world outlook of the proletariat or the communist world outlook. Its task is to arm the working class, its political party and the broad masses of people with the knowledge of the most fundamental laws of nature, society and thought and with scientific world outlook and methodology and to provide them with a powerful weapon of cognition so that they can apply this weapon in guiding practice, striving for the victory of the socialist revolution and construction and constantly opening up new prospects for the continued development of the socialist and communist cause. The most important role of Marxist philosophy in understanding social phenomena is that it enables people to have a clear understanding of the historical necessity and of the way and extent of the development of human society from a variety of historical phenomena and from innumerable accidental historical factors. It thus helps people to acquire a communist world outlook

and belief would constitute a dereliction of duty and a failure. In the future, an important task of the philosophy front and the work of teaching, publicizing and studying philosophy is to conscientiously help the people, particularly the younger generation, to acquire communist ideology, bring into play the theoretical might of Marxist philosophy and make contributions to the building of socialist spiritual civilization in our country.

Now, I would like to talk about the relationship between stepping up the studies of the modern philosophy of foreign countries and enlightening the youths in the ideological sphere. In order to help the people, particularly the younger generation, to acquire communist ideology and strengthen our belief in communism, it is important to help them to get a clear understanding of the various erroneous trends of thought and improve their ability to differentiate. This is precisely the unshirkable duty of our research workers on modern philosophy of foreign countries. At present, due to the influence of bourgeois ideology, there is ideological confusion among the number of youths. Preplexed and apprehensive, they hold a sceptical and indifferent attitude toward Marxism and want to seek the truth from some other Western doctrines. Therefore, a small number of youths take a great interest in the works of Jean-Paul Sartre and existentialism. These youths who take an interest in existentialism, do not necessarily study the philosophy of existentialism. This is because "being and nothingness," a representative philosophical work of Sartre, is not available in a Chinese version although it was published in 1943, and it is difficult to understand its content. As for the other existentialists, the youths have not even heard their names and are naturally not in a position to read their works. In my opinion, some youths cherish the ideal of existentialism not so much from reading the philosophical works of existentialism as from reading some literary and art works. However, this does not mean that it is unnecessary to make a scientific appraisal of existentialism, such as Sartre's "Nausea" and Camus' "The Plague," publicize, through literary and art forms and artistic images, the philosophical viewpoint of existentialism and in particular the philosophical viewpoint of self-chosen will being above all else. Therefore, only by a profound analysis of the existentialist philosophy will it be possible to help some youths get a real understanding of the negative role of the existentialist literary and art works. The existentialist philosophy reflects the spiritual condition of a number of people, mainly a number of intellectuals, who, living in the capitalist countries, are perplexed and apprehensive because of their failure to see a way out. It is understandable that such a philosophy should be popular in the West. However, it gives us much food for thought when, in a socialist country like ours, this philosophy should be regarded by some people as truth and as a supplement or substitute for Marxism. Although there are still some disputes in academic circles on the appraisal of both the existentialist philosophy and Sartre, there is a point that should be made clear. The individualist viewpoint covered by such philosophical phrases as "self-chosen will" which are advocated by the existentialists will exert a corrosive influence on our people, particularly on youths. It will also exert a negative influence on our efforts to build socialist spiritual civilization and acquire communist ideology. It is necessary for the research workers of modern philosophy of foreign countries to, through their hard work, help youths to improve their ability of differentiation and, through comparison and differentiation, guide youths to resist the erroneous trends of thought and conscientiously choose the truth of communism.

## PARTY AND STATE

### BA YI RADIO DISCUSSES SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

OW300537 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Text] From the viewpoint of developing Sino-Japanese economic relations, we can see that the talks between Chinese leaders and Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki will undoubtedly produce useful results. But, from the angle of solving certain complicated political problems, we see no possibility in Suzuki's visit producing any results. For example, in the talks, our leaders have failed to say anything about the revival of Japanese militarism and Japan's forcible occupation of our Diaoyu Island.

As to talks on Sino-Japanese economic relations, Suzuki will agree, in the name of the Japanese Government, to offer a supplementary loan of U.S. \$400 million to our country for the exploration and exploitation of petroleum in Bohai Bay. He will also agree to extend loans to our country for the purchase of complete sets of equipment for the Baoshan steel complex and other industrial projects. At the same time, consideration should be given to the fact that China already owes Japan as much as U.S. \$10 billion. This figure cannot but make people feel worried. Despite this, the bilateral talks between Suzuki and the Chinese leaders on economic relations will still produce some practical results. It is regrettable that the talks cannot touch upon existing serious political issues.

Comrade Hu Yaobang, at the 12th Party Congress, very correctly pointed that some forces in Japan are attempting to revive Japanese militarism. That indeed is the way it is. For example, shortly before Suzuki's visit to our country, Japan put forward a new 5-year plan on expanding its defense capabilities. When this plan is implemented, Japan's military services and branches will all be armed with the most up-to-date equipment and technology, and will also be expanded in manpower, greatly increasing Japan's military strength. It is estimated that, by the end of 1984, Japan's military strength will rank behind only the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France. Moreover, on the eve of Suzuki's visit to our country, a Japanese government spokesman had the impudence to make a preposterous statement. He said that an island nation like Japan needs to protect its sea transport routes and that the Japanese Navy has the right to defend waters within 1,000 nautical miles of the Japanese coastline.

The above-mentioned facts show that such revival of Japanese militarism is dangerous to our country, Southeast Asia and the world as a whole. However,

in the talks, our side has failed to seriously bring up this extremely important issue, and has also failed to mention the question of Japan's forcible occupation of our Diaoyu Island. We are still following Deng Xiaoping's erroneous principle of leaving the Diaoyu Island issue for future generations to settle. This issue, however, is of strategic significance, politically and militarily. It has a direct bearing on China's sovereignty and security. Turning a blind eye to these issues is indeed intolerable.

Comrade Yu Yaobang said it well at the 12th Party Congress: Being patriots, we do not tolerate any encroachment on China's national dignity or interests.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### CPC SHOULD OPPOSE U.S. GLOBAL AGGRESSIVE POLICY

OW030149 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang was absolutely correct when he denounced the United States for going back on its own commitment by continuing to sell arms to the Taiwan authorities, thereby infringing on China's sovereignty and interfering China's internal affairs and when he condemned the present U.S. anti-China policy in his report to the 12th CPC National Congress. However, he should at the same time also condemn the U.S. global aggressive policy which menaces the people of all countries. He should expose the most heinous enemy of the people of all countries—the U.S. imperialist aggressive elements. Furthermore, he should still more specifically tell the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country that the utmost principal task in our foreign policy is that while resolutely opposing the U.S. imperialist anti-China policy on the Taiwan issue, we should coordinate with the people of all countries to uncompromisingly and firmly oppose the sinister U.S. global aggressive policy.

The facts show that in the recent decade, especially after the new U.S. administration headed by President Reagan took office, U.S. imperialists have intensified their global aggressive policy and the world hegemony ambition. It can be definitely said that the Reagan administration of the United States is the most aggressive, anti-communist clique. After taking power, Reagan and other chieftains of U.S. imperialism openly and shamelessly craved world hegemony, forcing the people of other countries to satisfy the political needs of the United States and attempting to politically, militarily and economically control the entire world. They are frenziedly preparing for war, energetically expanding naval, ground and air bases, and not even excluding outer space in order to intimidate the people of all countries.

Obviously, under these dangerous circumstances, we should never isolate aggressive individual actions of the United States from the U.S. imperialist, aggressive global policy. For example, we should not merely condemn the U.S. anti-China policy on the Taiwan issue and not merely say that a cloud has hung over the relations between the two countries on that matter. Actually, this cloud has all along hung over the relations between China and the United States and between the United States and other countries. The fundamental cause of this cloud is the U.S. aggressive global policy and the aggressive elements of U.S. imperialism.

Chairman Mao pointed out: Some people cherish illusions about the United States. They believe that even without a severe and protracted struggle, the imperialists would also talk about equality and mutual benefit with People's China.

To be frank, only by waging a severe and protracted struggle, together with the people of other countries who also oppose U.S. imperialism, can we compel U.S. imperialism to respect our sovereignty and not to interfere in our internal affairs anymore. Only in this way can we forcefully counter the U.S. anti-China policy on the Taiwan issue and frustrate its aggressive global policy in order to maintain lasting peace and defend the sovereignty and independence of the people of all countries.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### BA YI URGES EFFORTS TO AVOID REPEATING MISTAKES

OW040517 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 1 Oct 82

[Text] On the occasion of the 33d anniversary of National Day, we are rejoiced to celebrate this great day of historical significance. People of the older generation still recall that 33 years ago when People's China was founded, a high tide to build socialism was vigorously whipped up throughout the country. During these unforgettable years in the early 1950's, a dynamic, favorable situation had prevailed in the nation. In order to build the motherland into a prosperous, modern and powerful country and live a life of plenty, hundreds of millions of people in China have offered their wisdom and strength. Due to the people's hard work and the party's correct leadership, the motherland has taken on a completely new look.

It is regrettable, that in the 33 years since the founding of the nation, we have followed the correct road and scored remarkable achievements only during the first 8 years. Since then, we have deviated from the correct path and followed an erroneous and tortuous road. The state has suffered tremendous losses, and the people have endured untold sufferings. At the end of this period, the state is on the verge of a total collapse.

Generally speaking, the 25 years since 1957 are considered a total waste so far as the building of the socialist motherland is concerned. It is true that after Chairman Mao's death and the smashing of the gang of four, a refreshing atmosphere has permeated the country, and the situation has taken a turn for the better. However, due to the fact that some people are still clinging to their erroneous ideas, an incorrect work style has remained prevalent among the leaders. The state has still failed to entirely follow the correct path. However, time is merciless. Each day, month and year wasted will never be regained. All the people in the country are asking one question: Is there any way out?

The convocation of the 12th CPC National Congress has given people some hope. The congress has formulated a brief and preliminary plan for national development in the next 20 years. However, people are worried about whether this plan can be carried out, because the pernicious influence of the erroneous ideas and incorrect work style among the leaders has not been completely eliminated yet. If we do not take the correct path, we will never be able to carry out the plan for the next 20 years as put forward by the party. Wasting another 20 years would mean a complete failure to our economic construction.

When we enter the 21st century, we would find ourselves lagging far behind many developed countries, and our people would be unable to extricate themselves from poverty. The happy life of ample food and clothing would remain a daydream. Therefore, to return to the correct road which we had followed in the early 1950's represents the needs of the times.

On this occasion of the 33d anniversary of National Day, we look forward to the future. At the same time, we must keep in mind the lessons of the past in order to avoid making the same mistakes again. Only by doing so, will it be possible for us to follow the correct path for national development and to quicken the pace in developing socialist construction in our motherland.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### BA YI RADIO COMMENTS ON PRC FOREIGN POLICY

OW211224 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 18 Oct 82

[Text] It is heartening to learn that the 12th CPC National Congress has boldly discarded the ultraleftist tendencies of its foreign policy despite opposition by some people within the party.

Our diplomatic errors, our efforts committed in handling the issue of war and peace and particularly our ultraleftist diplomatic activities over the past decade or more have brought us irredeemable economic and military losses. Both our nation and our party are isolated among the socialist nations and in the world communist movement. We still remember that during that time almost every socialist nation and every Communist Party was censured by us for practicing modern revisionism. Consequently, only Albania and Vietnam maintained friendly relations with us. Influence by the ultraleftist views on the world situation, we wantonly incited a feverish war of fanaticism among the population and portrayed the world as being on the verge of a third world war. Accordingly, we whipped up a mass movement of digging deep tunnels, storing grain everywhere and preparing against war and natural disasters. Thus we senselessly squandered huge amounts of the state's and people's funds and greatly wasted our material and financial resources. Worse yet is the fact that our ultraleftist diplomatic line aroused all the neighboring countries and even the nonadjacent nations such as Indonesia and Malaysia to guard against our party and nation.

It is hard to imagine what more losses would have befallen us by the erroneous diplomatic line if the gang of four had not been overthrown. Since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, we have substantially improved our relations with the United States, Japan and West European capitalist countries. Regrettably, we have not yet normalized our relations with neighboring countries, an overwhelming majority of the socialist nations and the world communist parties and workers' parties. Only 3 of the 16 socialist nations in the world have normal relations with us. Even our former close friends Albania and Vietnam have become alienated from us. What is most regrettable is that most neighboring countries cannot maintain normal good-neighborly relations with us. Therefore, in our future diplomatic work we must stress improving our relations with neighboring countries and with the socialist nations.

In his report delivered at the 12th National CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang rightly said: China's foreign policy proceeds from the fundamental interests of the people of China and the rest of the world. It follows an overall long-term strategy, and is definitely not swayed by expediency or by anybody's instigation or provocation.

In short, it is important to unservingly carry out a correct foreign policy. Proceeding from the interests of the people of China and of the world revolutionary people, we must unite all revolutionary forces in the world.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### BA YI SUPPORTS ZHAO YIYA 'JIEFANGJUN BAO' ARTICLE

OW241121 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1325 GMT 23 Oct 82

[Text] A conclusion has been drawn solely on the basis of one or two articles from the army paper and the report of the PLA General Political Department to the CPC Central Committee secretariat on the eve of the 12th National CPC Congress--a report that reflects the views of the PLA commanders and fighters regarding the revised constitution. This conclusion says that cadres, particularly the high and middle-ranking leading army cadres are imbued with serious "leftist" ideas. This untenable conclusion has greatly disappointed the broad masses of commanders and fighters. Actually, this provides an excuse to strike at the army for the third time since the convocation of the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. To criticize the "leftist" ideas of the army leading cadres is definitely not accidental. At first, efforts were made to purge the army by criticizing rightist ideas and selecting the literary and art workers in the army led by Bai Hua as the target. However, the campaign against rightists failed to arouse sympathy inside and outside the army and among the PLA commanders and fighters because of the resistance of many leading comrades in our army. Some people at the central level believe that a feeling against the ultraleftist trend still prevails among the people throughout the country, therefore, good results can be achieved by striking at the army with the excuse of opposing the leftist trend.

Naturally army consolidation should be carried out if necessary. However, there is no such need now. At the same time, the military commission of the CPC Central Committee has been continuously purging the army since its reorganization. As of now, tens of thousands of leading cadres at and above the regimental level have been replaced, transferred or forced to retire, take convalescence leave and play the secondary role. We must not make special efforts to look for such a ridiculous excuse as combating the "leftist" trend for the purpose of purging the army.

Let us take the article written by Comrade Zhao Yiya in JIEFANGJUN BAO: "Communist Thinking Is the Core in Developing Socialist Spiritual Civilization," as an example. This article has committed no "leftist" mistake fundamentally, nor does it run counter to the principles laid down by the 3rd and 7th plenary sessions of the 11th CPC Central Committee. This JIEFANGJUN BAO article is identical in principle with a similar article written by HONGQI

Journal's editorial department around the time of the 12th National CPC Congress, as well as other articles written by Comrades Hu Qiaomu and Wang Zhen. This article calls for efforts to find the ideological sources for the current unhealthy party style and general mood in society by analyzing the fine social values in the early postliberation years. What is wrong with that? Is it wrong to criticize those who have recently compared one's ideological level to one's cultural level saying that without a high cultural level, one will never meet high moral standards or foster lofty ideals? In his article, Comrade Zhao Yiya also pointed out: There are some unhealthy practices within the party in recent years mainly because the leading comrades have been muddle-headed, and some responsible comrades have taken the lead in disseminating erroneous bourgeois ideas. Comrade Zhao Yiya is absolutely correct! Therefore, we must say that the practice to purge the army, strike at a large number of army leaders and accuse them of committing "leftist" crimes through this article is extremely wrong. This practice is detrimental to army building and to the unity between the party and the army.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEI MONGGOL: WANG JIANGONG REMARKS AT CYL CONGRESS

SK261007 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 25 Oct 82

[Text] In a speech delivered at the Seventh Regional CYL Congress, Wang Jiangong, secretary of the secretariat of the CYL Central Committee, pointed out: Efforts must be made to unswervingly run the CYL committees as communist schools and make contributions to building the socialist spiritual civilization.

Comrade Wang Jiangong said: To give full play to their role and to contribute to the building of socialist spiritual civilization, CYL Committees must first of all educate and arm the youths with communist ideas. He said: To enable the broad masses of youths to foster communist convictions, efforts must be made to lead them to study some communist theories and history on social development and confused understanding and ideas and erroneous thinking must be clarified. He said: To educate youths with communist ideas, we must, in accordance with the proletarian standards and demands and proceeding from the actual ideological situation of youths, conduct effective education focusing on life outlook, ideals, future prospects and moral character, resist the corrosive influence of the bourgeois ideology and launch an anticorruption struggle.

He stressed: Efforts must be made to lead youths to combine lofty ideals with the spirit of doing solid work, to keep a foothold at their work posts, [words indistinct] and to contribute to building socialism in a down-to-earth manner. We must be willing to contribute to building socialism and strive to be up-to-standard and quality builders.

At the end of his speech, Comrade Wang Jiangong called on the CYL organizations at all levels, while conducting ideological and political work, not only to foster good motives but also to create a perfect situation that suits youths' characteristics, uphold the steadfastness of principles, adopt flexible and diversified methods and continue to find out and sum up advanced experience through practice.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEI MONGGOL URGES IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN MODERNIZING ARMY

SK050516 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 4 Oct 82

[Excerpts] According to our reporter (Chen Bin) and correspondent (Hao Jianjun), in studying and discussing the 12th CPC National Congress documents at the recent enlarged meeting sponsored by the CPC Committee under the Nei Monggol autonomous regional military district, participating comrades noted that building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization is a strong motive force to promote the modernization and regularization of our armed forces.

Participating comrades stated: In his report, Comrade Hu Yaobang gave a meticulous and thorough exposition to the campaign of building socialist spiritual civilization from the high plane of scientific socialist theory and socialist political success.

Participating comrades stated: To fulfill the grand goal of modernizing and regularizing our armed forces, it is necessary to seek ideological and organizational guarantees. The ideological guarantee means that education on communist ideology should be carried out among PLA units so that cadres and fighters are able to understand that communism is not only our fighting goal, but also a practical movement. Efforts should be made to master the identity of communist ideals and to implement the party's current principles and policies that have been formulated under the guidance of the communist ideological system and in line with the actual situation. It is also necessary to understand that communism is not distant and indistinct, but exists in our daily life and that each revolutionary work we have engaged in is a part of the communist cause. Efforts should be made to assure that each party member believes in communism, practices communism in action and does his practical work in a down-to-earth manner.

In studying the 12th CPC Congress documents at the meeting, participating comrades earnestly discussed how to deeply and sustainedly carry forward the campaign of building socialist spiritual civilization. They unanimously contended that the work of building a high level of socialist modernization is not undertaken only by cadres and fighters at grassroots levels but that it is also closely bound up with leading personnel at all levels and is the most important link in building party committees at all levels.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEI MONGGOL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS URGES DISSEMINATION OF PARTY GUIDELINES

SK081004 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Text] According to our reporter (Wu Xinmin), the standing committee of the 5th Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional People's Congress held its 13th meeting in Hohhot Municipality today. The major items of the meeting agenda include studying the 12th CPC Congress documents, discussing and approving the decision on convening the fifth session of the Fifth Regional People's Congress, hearing and examining the report given by the Regional People's government in regard to the regional industrial readjustment and enterprise reorganization and the report given by the Regional People's government in regard to the disposition of motions adopted at the fourth session of the Fifth Regional People's Congress and approving some cadre changes.

Shen Xinfu, vice chairman of the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, presided over the meeting opened this morning. Ting Mao, chairman of the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, delivered a report relaying the 12th CPC Congress guidelines and offering his personal opinions on studying the 12th CPC Congress documents. He stated: Studying and implementing the 12th CPC Congress guidelines is our big event at present. We must follow the arrangement made by the CPC Central Committee for studying and discussing the 12th CPC Congress documents and thoroughly understand the basic content of documents and the congress' spirit so as to orient the thinking of the broad masses of cadres and the people to the 12th CPC Congress guidelines. Bearing in mind the actual situation throughout the region, earnest efforts should be made to implement the principles and tasks set forth by the 12th CPC National Congress and make concerted efforts in completing various work of the region and in creating a new situation of socialist modernization.

Attending the meeting were vice chairmen of the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, including Gao Zengpei, Zhang Rugang, Sun Lanfeng, Qi Junshan, Han Feng and E-qi-er-hu-ya-ke-tu. Attending the meeting as observers were Li Binsan, vice chairman of the Regional People's Government, Li Wenjing, president of the Regional Higher People's Court, Han Shijin, chief of the Regional People's Procuratory Office, and (Yang Dalai), secretary-general of the Regional People's government. Also attending the meeting as observers were responsible comrades from the departments concerned under the Regional People's government, the organs under the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee and under the Hohhot, Baotou and Wuhai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committees and from the organs under various league people's congresses and under various league administrative offices.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEI MONGGOL'S DEPUTY SECRETARY SPEAKS AT UNIVERSITY

SK241010 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Oct 82

[Excerpts] On 22 October, Bu He, deputy secretary of the Regional CPC Committee, spoke at a rally in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Nei Monggol Normal University. He pointed out that in order to fulfill the grand task of opening up a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and further implement the important directives of the CPC Central Committee for Nei Monggol's work, we should show ideological and political unity with the CPC Central Committee.

Comrade Bu He said: To show political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee, we should uphold the four basic principles, oppose both leftist and rightist erroneous trends and eradicate interference from various sources. If we do not conduct serious criticism and even necessary struggles against erroneous things and let them develop unchecked, we simply cannot talk about showing unity, with the CPC Central Committee. To show political unity with the CPC Central Committee is not empty talk. We should do so with our acts. We should not only support the CPC Central Committee ideologically but also implement with our acts the decisions and directives of the CPC Central Committee. To show political unity with the CPC Central Committee is political discipline party members should abide by; it is the most rudimentary party spirit and principle they should have. To safeguard party discipline is also an important responsibility for party organizations at all levels.

Comrade Bu He stressed: Schools are places to train qualified people and important bastions for the socialist spiritual civilization. They should be examples in implementing the party's decisions, principles and policies. In our region, they should particularly implement the party's policy on nationalities and successfully unite the people of various nationalities. They should conduct education on the Marxist concept on nationalities in line with the ideological reality of the students in order to make them understand Marxist basic theories and viewpoints on nationalities affairs and to enhance their understanding of nationalities affairs. In this way, the students can foster the idea that all our nationalities are indispensable to each other, raise their initiative in strengthening unity among various nationalities, refrain from saying or doing anything harmful to this unity and strive to promote it.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### NEI MONGGOL: THOROUGHLY STUDY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

SK180411 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Oct 82

[Text] The Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional CPC Committee recently held a meeting of secretaries of league and municipal CPC Committee to further mobilize them to study well the documents of the 12th CPC Congress and to work out plans for study. It called for comprehensive and correct understanding and mastery of the essence of the congress documents and, in line with the actual conditions in our ideology and work, opening up a new situation in the socialist material and spiritual civilizations as soon as possible.

After the 12th CPC Congress, leagues, municipalities, banner and counties in our region have made arrangements for extensively relaying and studying the congress documents. A great number of cadres at and above the county level have been sent to publicize the documents among the masses. The documents have been widely publicized at grassroots and the masses of cadres and people have been greatly inspired.

In accordance with their actual situation, many party and government leading organs have paid close attention to party work style rectification in the course of the study. They have formulated initial plans for increasing their economic targets several times over.

The Regional CPC Committee held: Following the previous extensive study of the documents, we should now deepen study. In particular, cadres at and above the county or banner level should read the documents carefully, acquire a clear understanding and achieve mastery of them. In addition, they should combine the study of the documents with that of the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and thoroughly understand the essence of the documents through the integration of theory with practice. They should also underline major parts and list special topics for their study so that they can more thoroughly understand.

The Regional CPC Committee urged: In the course of study, it is imperative to carry forward the fine style of study of integrating theory with practice and, first of all, combine the congress guidelines with our own ideology. We should conscientiously overcome, through study, the ideas and unhealthy trends that go counter to the congress guidelines, take the initiative in unifying our ideology in line with the guidelines, unconditionally show political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee and work diligently in high spirits.

Proceeding from the actual situation in the region, we should implement, in a down-to-earth manner, the measures and methods put forward at the 12th CPC Congress. We should also bear in mind the important directives of the CPC Central Committee on Nei Monggol's work and the directives made by Comrade Hu Yaobang during his inspection tour in Nei Monggol. All localities should work out realistic and feasible plans for the fulfillment of the various objectives set forth at the 12th CPC Congress. In particular, we should adopt effective measures to accomplish immediately those that can be accomplished under existing conditions so as to open up a new situation at an early date.

The Regional CPC Committee called on all localities to conduct still more extensive and profound study, propaganda and education on Marxist theory on nationalities, the party's policy on regional autonomy of minority nationalities and the principle of equality and unity among various nationalities in the course of the study. Efforts should be made to foster a proletarian national outlook and a historical material viewpoint that all our nationalities are indispensable to each other, and they should unite as one to develop and flourish the economy and culture of Nei Monggol. At the end of this year or at the beginning of next year, large-scale publicity and commendations at middle schools and schools at higher levels and in counties and banners to the units and individuals that have done a good job in this field. Those who do a poor job should be properly criticized or educated. The small number of those who undermine the equality and unity among nationalities should be dealt with strictly, in a timely manner.

The Regional CPC Committee called on leading cadres at all levels to take the lead in studying and implementing the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress. Leading cadres should especially devote some time to study and thinking so as to deepen their understanding in the practice of work. Study should be done effectively to avoid formalism. Overall arrangements should be made for both the study of the congress documents and present work in various fields. Party and government organs, particularly enterprises and establishments, may organize their people to study in rotation. They should not resort to the old practice of hanging a board on their office doors reading "Closed for Study." Such practices divorce them from the masses and sometimes can cause delay in their work.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### CONGRESS STANDING COMMITTEE SESSION ENDS

SK131128 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] The 13th standing committee session of the 5th Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional People's Congress successfully concluded in Hohhot today. During the session, committee members gave priority to the study of the documents of the 12th National CPC Congress and had a lively discussion on it. They discussed the historic significance of the 12th Party Congress and further deepened their understanding of the main content and basic guidelines of the 12th Party Congress and the strategic task, policies and principles as set forth at the 12th Party Congress. In line with the work of the regional people's congress and the practical situation of the region, they put forward some suggestions for the implementation of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress and pledged to strive for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

During the session, committee members also listened to the draft resolution on convening the 5th session of the 5th Nei Monggol Regional People's Congress and made a decision on it. They also listened to and examined the work report made by the regional people's government on industrial readjustment and enterprise consolidation and the report on dealing with the motions raised by representatives of the 4th session of the 5th Regional People's Congress. With regard to the two reports, some proposals were put forward and submitted to the regional people's government, which will be authorized to decide on their adoption. The meeting unanimously approved the appointment and dismissal of some cadres.

The plenum, held on 10 October, was chaired by Ting Mao, chairman of the Regional People's Congress. Attending the plenum were some vice chairmen including Gao Zengpei, Shen Xinfu, Kergen, Sun Lanfeng, Zhang Rugang, Han Feng, Qi Junshan, Seyinbayar and Ochir Kotokto. Attending the plenum as nonvoting delegates were Li Wenjin, president of the Regional Higher People's Court and Han Shijin, chief of the Regional People's Procuratory Office. Also attending the plenum as nonvoting delegates were some responsible persons of departments concerned of the Regional People's Government, organizations under the Regional People's Congress Standing Committee, the Hohhot, Baotou and Wuhai Municipal People's Congress Standing Committees, all league administrative offices and offices of the people's congress.

The 13th standing committee session of the 5th Regional People's Congress decided to convene the 5th session of the 5th Nei Monggol Autonomous Regional People's Congress in Hohhot in December, 1982. Main items on the agenda of the 5th session are to listen to and examine the work report made by the regional people's government, the results of the region's implementation of the national economic plan in 1982, the report on the arrangement for the national economic plan in 1983, the results of the region's implementation of the financial budget in 1982 and the report on the arrangement for the financial budget in 1983, and work reports made by the regional people's congress, the regional higher people's court and the regional people's procuratorate.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### PROGRAM FOR RESTRUCTURING ORGANIZATIONS ISSUED

SK180955 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 17 Oct 82

[Text] In line with the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the Nei Monggol Regional CPC Committee recently studied and discussed the issue of restructuring the party, government and mass organizations at the regional, league and municipal levels. They held that conditions for this work are currently ripe, so we should firmly attend to it as soon as possible. The Regional CPC Committee has established offices in charge of the arrangements for personnel assignment and put forward a preliminary plan for restructuring organizations and personnel arrangements.

They held: Doing this work well and realizing the cooperation between old and new cadres and the succession of the old by the new to ensure that the ranks of cadres become more revolutionary, younger in age, better educated and more professionally competent are very important guarantees for the implementation of the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress to further create new situations in all fields. It concerns the great event of carrying forward and fulfilling the socialist cause of our party and the state. In line with the principles set forth by the party Central Committee, we should draw on collective wisdom, absorb all useful ideas with careful consideration and enthusiastically bring them into full play.

In the course of study and discussion, some standing committee members of the Regional CPC Committee at the age of about 70 earnestly asked to retreat from the first line and to obey the arrangements of the party to do what they could do. They asked to recommend excellent young and middle-aged comrades who are in the prime of life to work in the first line. With regard to promoting young and middle-aged cadres, they held that a bold evaluation should be passed through a correct assessment. We should guard against the five types of persons to sneak into the leading bodies and work with unity to adhere to principles and to overcome obstruction. Everyone should have a sense of responsibility to enthusiastically do this work well.

The Regional CPC Committee urged: The program for restructuring organizations should be carried out step-by-step in accordance with the arrangements made by the party Central Committee. For now we should concentrate on restructuring the regional-level organizations. All leagues and all municipalities should attend to the current production work and so forth. The work of restructuring

league- and municipal-level organizations will be carried out in the coming winter and spring and will be finished before next year's spring plowing. From the second half of 1983 to spring of 1984, organizations at the banner, county and commune levels will be restructured. All key industrial and mining enterprises should further conduct enterprise consolidation and implement the economic responsibility system, in line with the documents and guidelines of the party Central Committee, with a view to raising economic results.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BEIJING REVIEW' EDITOR ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK120856 Beijing BEIJING REVIEW in English No 40, 4 Oct 82 p 3

["Notes from the Editor" column by Cultural Editor Xin Xiangrong: "Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] Why is socialist spiritual civilization an important characteristic of the socialist system?

In his report to the 12th Party Congress (see Issue No 37), Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the party Central Committee said: "Socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system and a major aspect of its superiority." The report also made a scientific exposition of the relations between socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization and the significance and functions of the latter.

The building of socialist spiritual civilization consists, by and large, of two interrelated aspects: One is the development of education, science, culture, public health, physical culture and other undertakings, including healthy and varied mass recreational activities and entertainment of good taste; the other is the raising of the people's political consciousness and moral standards, of which the most important aspect is to foster revolutionary ideals, morality and discipline. In socialist China, the building of socialist spiritual civilization should be centered round the fostering of communist ideology.

In probing the laws governing the development of human history, Marxism always links material production with spiritual production. The mode of spiritual production is decided by a specific form of material production and at the same time exerts a tremendous impact on the latter.

In expounding the process of human being entering into a civilized period resulting from the development of material production, the emergence of social division of labour, the discovery of the written language and its application to recording of documents, Marx and Engels pointed out that slavery in antiquity, serfdom in the middle ages and wage labour in modern times were the three great forms of servitude characteristic of the three great epochs of civilization, all based on the exploitation of one class by another. Marx and Engels also made the scientific prediction that with the development of history,

a civilization of a higher stage characterized by the elimination of the exploitation of one class by another—that is, communist civilization—was bound to emerge. By that time, the land would flow with products like spring water, a generation of communist new people would be able to develop their talents freely in all respects, a thorough rupture with the traditional relations of ownership and with traditional concepts would be achieved; and, in a sense, human beings would finally divorce themselves from the animal world and would consciously treat the world and life with a scientific attitude. All this obviously involves demands both on material production and on spiritual production.

Today, China is still in the initial stage of communism—the socialist society. Although the reality of our country is still a far cry from the ideal world described by Marx and Engels, the latter is the great goal of our long-term struggle. The present drive to accomplish the four modernizations and the great efforts made to build socialist spiritual civilization as we build socialist material civilization are all for the purpose of advancing towards this great ideal.

Material civilization and spiritual civilization are interrelated. But this does not mean that under the socialist system, a socialist spiritual civilization will grow spontaneously with the development of material civilization. The reason is that while material wealth can be used to benefit the people, it can also be used to satisfy some people's selfish desires and even do harm to the people. The key point is the world outlook and morality of the people who control the material wealth.

As regards the contacts between countries, a state with a highly developed material civilization can either use its material wealth to assist oppressed nations and peoples or use it as a means to exploit and control other countries and peoples. This is determined by a country's social system, its guiding ideology and its policies.

The importance of building socialist spiritual civilization is to raise a generation of new people with communist ideology and morality, thereby promoting material civilization and ensuring that it will develop in the right direction.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BEIJING WANBAO' DISCUSSES EMPRESS DOWAGER CIXI

HK191339 Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 82 p 3

["Words of a Hundred Schools" Column by Kong Xiangji [1313 4382 0679]: "It Is Also Necessary to Make a Specific Analysis on Empress Dowager Cixi"]

[Text] A view was raised in the article "Empress Dowager Cixi Is Not Worthy the Title of An Old Steed," which appeared in this paper's "Words of a Hundred Schools" Column, that the novel "The Bloodshed in 1898" was wrong to use such words as "An old steed in the stable still aspires to gallop a thousand miles" to describe Empress Dowager Cixi. This is a correct view, but the subsequent arguments in the article are not so appropriate.

An ambitious woman keen on power, Cixi ruled China for 47 years and many of her perverse acts seriously hampered the development of Chinese history. However, it really deserves our serious study as to how the historical clown reached the position of the supreme ruler and why she was able to maintain her totalitarian rule for almost half a century. The novel ["The Bloodshed in 1898"] describes her as a "mature and experienced ruler who could see through the world's trends on the whole." Although this argument is not so appropriate, it is worth discussion. In history, Cixi was a soberminded and cunning person. In regard to the westernization faction's measures of learning from the West, Cixi only adopted those which served to consolidate her power. For example, building railways and operating trains in the palace were not merely an "imagination divorced from reality," but the real facts. In order to let the imperial court have a chance to look at the strange creature, railway, Li Hung-chang contributed several "trains" in 1888, and later, Cixi gave consent to the building of a railway in Ziguang Pavilion, Zhongnanhai, for a trial operation of the trains. In his diary, Weng Tonghe cried out in alarm: "Trains are moving in Kunming Lake [a scenic spot in the summer palace], rails are being built in Xiyuen [a place near the summer palace] and electric lights are illuminating the forbidden city. While observing the situation, I am laden with anxiety." Compared with the imperial tutor, Cixi certainly excelled.

For another example, Cixi did not indiscriminately reject all reforms. The imperial decree formulated by Emperor Kuang Hsu on the eve of the outbreak of the reform movement was promulgated with the consent of Cixi. A military officer Weng Tonghe once wrote: "Instructed by Empress Dowager Cixi, as no

conclusion has been reached after the discussion between censor Yang Shenxiu and Sub-chancellor Xu Zhiqing on state affairs, it is advisable to give lectures on western knowledge. A decision is thus made." Therefore, one can see that it is somewhat removed from the facts to say: "In Cixi's mind, predecessors' doctrines could not be changed and nothing of 'the world's trends' would be considered." As for the argument that "it was not until her return from Xian as a refugee to flee from the calamity of the invasion by the joint army of eight powers that Cixi would meet the ambassadors of various countries," it absolutely is not truthful history. To say the least, on the 25th of the lunar 3d months in 1898, she met with the French Prince, Henry Er Ke Xu [0059 0466 6079] at Leshou Hall in the summer palace. All this is authentically recorded in historical documents and it is necessary to read them in detail.

"It is a serious issue to have a correct evaluation on historical figures." This is indeed a correct saying. In some comrades' view, however, all reactionary persons are bad and they are without a single redeeming feature ever since they are born. This is the over-simplification of the complicated history. History is vivid and fresh, and we must never forget it while evaluating all historical figures.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### BEIJING HOLDS FORUM ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK041208 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 24 Sep 82

[Excerpts] According to BEIJING RIBAO, responsible persons of party and government organizations, trade unions, CYL organizations and women's federations from this municipality's districts, counties and units at the grassroots level yesterday gathered at (Hongta) Auditorium to attend a forum to exchange experiences in building socialist spiritual civilization and in carrying out the activities of promoting the five stresses and four beauties. The forum was convened by the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee and the Beijing Municipal People's Government.

In his speech at the forum, Municipal CPC Committee Secretary Liu Daosheng said: socialist spiritual civilization is an important feature of socialism and is also an important expression of the superiority of the socialist system. All areas, departments and units must integrate the study of the documents of the 12th National Party Congress with the study of the central authorities' 4 guiding principles for building the capital. In accordance with the documents and the guiding principles, we must conscientiously examine our understanding of the building of socialist spiritual civilization, do well in making arrangements for work to be carried out at the end of this year and do well in formulating a work plan for 1983.

Liu Daosheng said in conclusion: We must inspire enthusiasm, work hard, open up new prospects for building socialist spiritual civilization, and in accordance with the central authorities' relevant demand, realize ahead of time thorough improvements in our party spirit, in the people's common practice and in our public order. We must enable Beijing to be the whole country's vanguard in promoting environmental sanitation, morality, good habits, public order and public security work. We must enable Beijing to be China's first-class city.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'BEIJING RIBAO' CELEBRATES ITS 30TH ANNIVERSARY

HK051402 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 27 Sep 82

[Text] According to BEIJING RIBAO, the paper held a tea party yesterday afternoon in the National Culture Palace to warmly celebrate the 30th anniversary of its founding. Peng Zhen, member of the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, wrote a preface to the collected works in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of BEIJING RIBAO: I congratulate BEIJING RIBAO on the 30th anniversary of its founding and hope comrades will continue to educate people, especially young people, with dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Hu Qiaomu, member of the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee, wrote a letter to the newspaper office, and in the letter, he hoped that BEIJING RIBAO could try to make itself the best municipal newspaper in the country. Jiao Ruoyu, second secretary of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee and mayor of Beijing City, read at the party a congratulatory letter from the Municipal CPC Committee. Fan Jin, vice chairman of the standing committee of the Municipal People's Congress and former director of and current adviser to BEIJING RIBAO, and Wang Yi, first secretary of the secretariat of All China Association of Journalists, also delivered speeches at the party. Also attending were responsible comrades of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee, the Beijing Municipal Government, the standing committee of the Municipal People's Congress, the Municipal CPPCC Committee, all municipal departments and mass organizations as well as comrades who have previously worked in the newspaper office.

CSO: 4005/88

PARTY AND STATE

DUAN JUNYI ON YOUTH PROPAGANDA TRAINING COURSE

HK051408 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Excerpts] When speaking at the final ceremony of the First Friends-of-Youth Lecture Training Course, Duan Junyi, first secretary of the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee, said: It is a demand of the party's cause and a demand in the building of socialist spiritual civilization to run the Friends-of-Youth Lecture Training Course, to cultivate more lecturers like Li Yanjie and to build up a strong propaganda contingent of Marxism-Leninism.

The First Friends-of-Youth Lecture Training Course was conducted by the Municipal CYL Committee in accordance with the opinion of some leaders in the party Central Committee. The 17 comrades, who attended this course included professional CYL cadres, young labor models and shock workers in the new long march at the city level.

Duan Junyi offered his congratulations to the training course and encouraged the CYL cadres who attended this course to form a firm communist faith, to display a dedicated spirit and to energetically publicize communist ideology and the good deeds of advanced figures. At present, it is necessary to seriously study and actively publicize the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress and make contributions to the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### DUAN JUNYI SPEAKS AT BEIJING CADRE STUDY CLASS

HK190401 Beijing City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 11 Oct 82

[Excerpts] The first class held by the Municipal CPC Committee Party School for leading cadres to study the 12th Party Congress documents opened on 11 October. Addressing the participants, Municipal CPC Committee First Secretary Duan Junyi stressed: Leading cadres studying the 12th Party Congress documents must carry out deep-going and extensive study in connection with reality and think how they can create a new situation in their own work. The 2-week class is being attended by 693 leading cadres.

Comrade Duan Junyi pointed out in his speech: The 12th Party Congress was the most important party congress since the 7th. Serious study of the congress documents will guide us to attain more quickly the target for endeavor put forward by the party. The cadres at all levels must genuinely grasp the spiritual essence of the 12th Party Congress documents, enhance their level of ideological understanding, and maintain unity with the Central Committee in thinking and action. They must link theory with reality in study. Through study they should enhance their understanding of building spiritual and material civilization and of the importance of the cooperation of new and old cadres and the replacement of old by new, and seriously promote all party work.

Liu Daosheng, secretary of the Municipal CPC Committee, also attended the gathering and put forward specific demands on study.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON TASK OF SOCIALIST MODERNIZATION

HK011305 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Wu Zhenkun [0702 2182 0981]: "The Party's General Task in the New Historical Period and Socialist Modernization"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The general task of the CPC in the new historical period is to unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country." This general task is still clearly listed in the new party constitution adopted by the 12th CPC National Congress. The reaffirmation of this grand historical task by the 12th CPC National Congress will tremendously inspire the whole party and people to struggle hard for its realization.

The party's general task in the new historical period includes three aspects, that is, to build a high level of material civilization and of spiritual civilization and to attain a high level of democracy. "Modernization" is a question of political undertaking and "highly advanced civilization" is a question of cultural and ideological development. Therefore, taking the construction in the three fields, of economy, policies and culture and ideology for the party's general task in the new historical period is comprehensive and scientific. The tasks in these three aspects are closely related and indivisible and reflect the basic requirements of building a powerful socialist country.

Replacing capitalism with socialism is aimed at emancipating the productive forces, continuously raising labor productivity and meeting the material and cultural needs of the people. This is the fundamental aim of socialist revolution. After the proletariat seized political power throughout the country, and particularly after the establishment of the socialist system, we must vigorously develop the social productive forces and create higher labor productivity than there is under capitalism. This is the objective requirement of the development of socialism. Only in this way, can we lay a powerful material and cultural foundation for socialism and further consolidate and develop the socialist system, and only in this way too, can we provide extremely rich products for society and create conditions for realizing the

transition from socialism to communism. Therefore, with the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and the change in the principal contradiction of Chinese society, the focus of work of the party and the state must be unservingly shifted to the socialist modernization program centered around economic construction. However, for a variety of reasons, it was not until the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that this shift was realized. At present, we are concentrating our efforts on carrying out the socialist modernization program and creating a high level of material civilization. This is the primary and fundamental task that our people are undertaking in the new historical period.

While striving for a high level of material civilization, we must make great efforts to build socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core. This is also a long-range fundamental task of our people. Socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system and a major aspect of its superiority. Without this, the building of socialism would be out of the question. If the great task of building a socialist spiritual civilization guided by communist ideology is overlooked, people will only get a one-sided understanding of socialism and direct their attention exclusively to the building of material civilization or even only to the pursuit of material gains and this will thus lead nowhere but to evil ways. Only when we try hard to build a highly advanced spiritual civilization while striving for a highly advanced material civilization, can we ensure that our socialist cause will forever retain its revolutionary youth and vigor. At the same time, socialist society is steadily advancing toward its higher phase -- future communism. This process depends not only on the increase in material wealth but also on the continuous enhancement of the people's communist political consciousness and the constant development of the people's revolutionary spirit. In consequence, building a socialist spiritual civilization is a strategic principle for building socialism. In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "The history of socialism and the present situation in China both tell us that the success or failure of socialism depends on whether or not we adhere to this principle."

The socialist system must not only possess a high level of material civilization and of spiritual civilization but also practice highly developed democracy, that is, socialist democracy. Under the socialist system, the people are the masters of the country and all power belongs to the people. Under the leadership of the party and the guidance of the principles of democratic centralism, the people have been more and more extensively participating in the management of state affairs through various forms and channels. This requires us to extend socialist democracy to all spheres of life, political, economic, cultural and social, to extend democratic management to all enterprises and operational units and to encourage self-management of community affairs by the masses at the grass-roots level. Only this highly democratic political system can suit the relations of production between the socialized productive forces and the public ownership of the means of production. At the same time, we must closely link the building of socialist democracy with that of the socialist legal system so that socialist democracy is institutionalized

and confined to law. Owing to social and historical reasons, however, such a highly democratic system cannot be set up in an overall manner at a single stroke. It should undergo a process of continuous perfection and development. To set up a highly democratic political system is therefore a long-range fundamental task of our people too.

The above-mentioned tasks in the three aspects condition and help each other forward. Socialist material civilization provides an indispensable foundation for socialist spiritual civilization. The developed material civilization will create more favorable material conditions for the building of spiritual civilization and thus give impetus to the latter's continuous development. Spiritual civilization has a powerful reaction on material civilization. Socialist spiritual civilization not only gives a tremendous impetus to material civilization but also ensures its correct orientation. Moreover, the building of material and spiritual civilization is indispensable to a socialist democracy, the steady development of which, provides the guarantee and support for such construction. The internal relationship and interaction of material and spiritual civilization and highly developed democracy demand that in the course of building a powerful socialist country, we must pay close attention to the construction in these three aspects in an overall and coordinated way and correctly handle the relationships between the three. Neglect of any of the three aspects will give rise to serious problems.

There is no doubt that the above-mentioned three tasks are all very important and call for tremendous efforts for their fulfillment. However, they are not juxtaposed. During the new historical period, concentrating efforts on developing the productive forces and doing a good job of the socialist modernization program is always the key point and core of work of the whole party and the state. This is the most fundamental interest and requirement of the people all over the whole country and the basis for the solution of all other problems. The consolidation of the country, the stability of society and the improvement of the people's livelihood are ultimately determined by the development of production and by the success of the modernization program. In view of the previous serious lessons, the decision adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "We must never deviate from this focus, except in the event of large-scale invasion by a foreign enemy (and even then it will be necessary to carry on such economic construction as wartime conditions require and permit)." In his opening speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Deng Xiaoping again stressed that among the three major tasks of our people in the 1980's--to intensify the socialist modernization program, to strive for reunification and particularly for the return of Taiwan to the motherland, and to combat hegemonism and safeguard world peace, "economic construction is at the core of these tasks as it is the basis for a solution of China's external and domestic problems." For this reason, of the various tasks for bringing about an overall new situation, the most important one is to push forward the socialist modernization of China's economy.

In our country, the main contents of realizing socialist modernization are to equip the various departments of the national economy with modern science and technology, to adopt advanced production technology to serialize the process

of production, to organize and manage economic matters with modern scientific management methods, and to raise the scientific and technical level of the working people by a big margin so that China can reach the advanced levels of the modern world economically and technically. The most important fields to be modernized are the departments and spheres which are of decisive significance in the national economy, such as industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology. Although the modernization of these four spheres does not constitute the whole socialist modernization drive, they are still the most important spheres. Realizing the four modernizations indicates the modernization of the whole national economy of our country and even of the whole country. Beyond all doubt, in this course, the modernization program will be carried out correspondingly in all other fields. Therefore, the slogan for modernizing industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology is scientific. It summarizes the basic aspects of our socialist modernization drive in a striking way and formulates the objective of struggle of our people in the new historical period in a clear-cut manner.

The relations between the four aspects--industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology--are mutually restricted and mutually complementary rather than being juxtaposed. The modernization of science and technology is a key link in our four modernizations. Only when the modernization of science and technology is realized, can we provide the modernization of industry, agriculture and national defense with corresponding scientific and technical conditions. Consequently, in the process of modernization, science and technology should go ahead of the rest. Furthermore, industry plays a leading role in the national economy, so the modernization of industry should anticipate the modernization of agriculture and national defense. Only when industry is modernized, can it supply advanced technology and equipment for the modernization of agriculture and national defense.

With regard to the modernization of science and technology itself, it consists, in fact, of two aspects, that is, the modernization of science and of technology. These two are closely related but also somewhat different. Here the key to the question lies in how to combine the study of basic scientific theory with the practical application of science. Among the present economically developed capitalist countries, some stand in the forefront of the world in the modernization of technology while they are inferior by comparison in the modernization of science; others consistently preserve a relatively high level in science but they seem to be comparatively backward in the modernization of technology; still others pay close attention to both scientific research and the use of science and they link up the two quite satisfactorily. China has a weak scientific and technical foundation and it is backward in production techniques and equipment. Proceeding from this reality, we must, at present and for a considerably long period to come, pay close attention to the use of science and technology and place the modernization of technology in the foremost position so as to quicken the pace of technical transformation of the national economy while strengthening the study of basic theory.

The task for building a powerful and modern socialist country is both great and arduous and will take dozens of years of a historical period. This

historical period constitutes an extremely important stage in the development of our socialist society. The completion of the tasks in this stage will help our society take a significant step forward towards the long-range and great goal of communism. Therefore, although the realization of the transition from socialism to communism calls for the hard work of many generations, our present struggle constitutes a component part of communism--a great revolution unprecedented in human history. Just as the decision adopted by the 6th plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee pointed out: "Our present endeavor to build a modern socialist China constitutes but one stage of this great revolution." In addition, there is communism everywhere in our daily life, and the struggle we wage every day is aimed at laying a foundation for the splendid large building of communism. Accordingly, the argument that "communism is but a dim illusion" is utterly wrong.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON PARTY BUILDING, CONSTITUTION

HK221250 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 11 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Yang Fengchun [2254 6646 2504]: "Building the Party Into a Strong Leadership Core According to the Demands of the New Party Constitution"-- passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "As required by the new constitution, we must strive to build the party and make it a strong leading core for the cause of socialist modernization." This is the call to action issued by the CPC Central Committee to the whole party for developing a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. The new party constitution, which centralized the wisdom of the whole party, is more complete in content than all the previous constitutions and sets a stricter demand on party organizations, party members and party cadres. It is a programmatic document suited to the characteristics and requirements of the new period which enhances the combat effectiveness of party organizations, upholds and perfects party leadership and indicates the correct orientation for the further strengthening of party building in the new period. If actions are taken in strict accordance with the stipulations and demands of the new party constitution, we will certainly be able to translate into reality the slogans of the CPC Central Committee and make our party a strong leading core for the cause of socialism.

//1. The New Party Constitution Has Stipulated the Party's Ultimate Goal and the General Task at the Present Stage//

The new party constitution has summed up the experiences and lessons of the proletarian political party, in particular the proletarian political party in power, eliminated the influence of "leftist" mistakes in the party constitution of the 11th Party Congress, restored the strong points in the party constitutions of the 8th and 9th Party Congresses, correctly formulated the militant program of the party at the present stage and clearly stipulated that "the party's ultimate goal is the creation of a communist social system" and that the general task at the present stage is: "To unite the people of all nationalities in working hard and self-reliantly to achieve, step by step, the modernization of our industry, agriculture, national defense and science and technology and to make China a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country." This militant program has embodied the spirit of

integrating the revolutionary principles of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, inherited and developed the formulations of the party constitution of the 8th Party Congress on the task of the party for the present stage and correctly reflected the demands of the times as well as the ideas and aspirations of the masses. It is also the concise outline as well as the development of the party's line, policies and principles since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the summing up of the thorough understanding of socialist revolution and construction as a result of both the positive and negative aspects of the experiences of our party. This program will be like a battle banner rallying the forces of the whole party and directing the unified action of the whole party in seizing new victories.

The new party constitution has correctly put forward the historic task of building a high level of socialist material civilization as well as a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. These are the two major fundamental goals sought by socialism. These two important tasks, which promote and influence each other and are closely interrelated, have reaffirmed that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction and that the contradiction is that between the people's growing material and cultural needs and the backward level of our social production. The new party constitution has correctly reflected the new conditions and characteristics of the historical period we are living in, stipulated the general task of the present stage, reflected the profound understanding of our party regarding the period we are living in and enabled socialist revolution and construction to be built on a more conscious and solid foundation. The new party constitution has correctly defined the orientation which the building of the political party in power must follow and the conditions party organizations, party members and party cadres must possess. It is an important program for the building of the political party in power. The new party constitution is at the same time a volume of profound ideological teaching material for teaching the masses to become people with ideals, ethics, culture and discipline and plays a tremendous promotional role in changing social convention. Today, if the whole party and people of various nationalities throughout the country will resolutely advance along the orientation indicated by the 12th Party Congress in accordance with the program of the party, they will certainly be able to attain the magnificent goal put forth by the party. In the process of realizing this goal, there is also bound to be a major development in party building. Moreover, the consolidation and development of the party will in turn guarantee the realization of this magnificent goal.

#### //2. The New Party Constitution Has Stipulated Strict Criteria for Party Members and Conditions for Cadres//

Strict criteria for party members and conditions for cadres are extremely important in strengthening and improving party leadership and building a good party. Based on the past experiences of the political party in power and in particular the lessons obtained since the "great cultural revolution," the new party constitution has set higher demands on party members and party cadres, and stressed that party members must wholeheartedly serve the people, devote their whole lives to the realization of communism and must be ready to

make any personal sacrifices. Party members are at all times ordinary members of the working class, and they are not allowed to seek personal gain or privileges. Party members must fulfill the following duties: They must perseveringly execute the party's decisions, accept any job and actively fulfill any task assigned them by the party. They must play an exemplary vanguard role in production, work, study and social life. They absolutely must never use public office for personal gain or to benefit themselves at the expense of the public. They must firmly oppose factionalism. They must be bold in backing good people and good deeds and fighting against bad people and bad deeds. The new party constitution has stipulated that party cadres must be able to proceed from reality, correctly implement the line, policies and principles of the party and demonstrate organizational ability, a certain cultural level and the professional knowledge needed for competent leadership. Party organizations, party members and party cadres must inherit and carry forward the fine traditions of the party and strive to achieve the three basic demands put forth by the new party constitution, namely, showing a high degree of ideological and political unity, wholeheartedly serving the people and upholding democratic centralism. The new party constitution is suited to the needs of socialist modernization in the new period. It stresses the need of party members and party cadres to study the line, policies and principles of the party as well as science, culture and professional knowledge and calls on them to become experts in the four modernizations. In light of the invasion and attack by capitalist ideas and the temptations of the bourgeois lifestyle, it places emphasis on party discipline and calls on the party members and party cadres to maintain ideological and political unity with the Central Committee. In short, the new party constitution asks all party members to become vanguards of the proletariat with communist consciousness who consciously observe revolutionary discipline.

Party members and party cadres are the cells of party organizations. They are the ties between the party and the masses. It is through the means of the words and actions of the party members and party cadres that the masses acquaint themselves with the character of the party. The policies of the party must also be implemented and executed by the party members and party cadres. Therefore, any policy, no matter how good, will become a mere scrap of paper without the effort and exemplary work of party members, and the prestige of party leadership will suffer. As the political party in power, because of the leading position it occupies in the life of the state, the activities of the party have a direct bearing on the gain or loss as well as the success or failure of the masses. Moreover, the leading position of the party also easily gives rise to the danger of party members and party cadres in particular becoming separated from the masses. Therefore, greater stress must be placed on the question of setting a strict demand on the party members and party cadres. Our party has always paid attention to the quality of its members, emphasized strict criteria for party members and advocated the need of party members to strengthen self-cultivation and tempering. It has all along regarded the exemplary vanguard role of party members as an important condition for the realization of party leadership.

At present the party organizations in some places have neither prestige nor combat effectiveness and cannot correctly establish party leadership. To a

very great extent, the reason for this is because some party members and party cadres in those party organizations have become separated from the masses and cannot wholeheartedly serve the people, and they have taken advantage of the state and the masses under different conditions and in different forms. They cannot correctly and resolutely implement the policies of the party and have even distorted the party policies. Moreover, they have adopted the attitude of accommodating, compromising with and chiming in with the various phenomena which are in contravention to these policies. The masses have complained about our party style, and they are of the opinion that some of the party members and party cadres have not been able to play an exemplary pace-setting role. On the one hand, this condition has admittedly been caused by the sabotage and influence of the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, but on the other hand, the lack of strict demand and education for party members and party cadres also has something to do with this. For the sake of changing this condition, the new party constitution has stipulated strict criteria for party members and demands for cadres and stressed that party members must guide their actions with communist ideology. This has enabled the broad masses of party members to have a yardstick to follow in their advance. At the same time, this has also given the masses a basis for judging whether the party members are qualified or not and for supervising the party members and party cadres. This has not only sounded a warning to the party members who failed to meet the requirements, but has also provided an effective weapon for party consolidation. If all our party members will consciously carry out work in accordance with the demands of the party constitution, they will become truly qualified party members. The combat effectiveness of our party organization will be greatly enhanced and our party style will also take a fundamental turn for the better.

### //3. The New Party Constitution Has Made More Ample and Concrete Stipulations Regarding the Party's System of Democratic Centralism and Party Discipline//

The question of the party's system of democratic centralism is in fact that of paying attention to whether inner-party political life is normal or not, and it is also the key to whether the political life in leading organs at various levels is normal or not. Facts have shown us that the better democratic centralism is carried out, the more vigorous and lively the inner-party political life will be, and if the climate of the party is good the revolutionary cause will develop. Otherwise we will suffer setbacks and the atmosphere of the party will also deteriorate. This has not only been tested and verified by the history of the democratic revolution but also by the history of 30 years and more since the founding of the People's Republic. Judging from the lessons provided by the "great cultural revolution," the question of abnormal inner-party life is mainly found in two respects. One is the practice of "what one person says, goes" and each going his own way, and the inability to abide by the principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership. The other is, when important differences of opinion arise, unity in thinking and action cannot be achieved through full reasoning and the development of criticism and self-criticism. Some places basically have no collective unity of will and action. This has resulted in a state of disunity, and the combat effectiveness of the party organization is of course out of the question. Some places have the appearance of being very united on the

outside with everybody voicing support. As a matter of fact, the appearance is false for great contradictions and disunity are being concealed. Consequently, this will enable unhealthy tendencies inside the party to grow and develop, thus weakening the combat effectiveness of the party and damaging its prestige among the people. The serious lesson of the "great cultural revolution" has enabled us to more conscientiously and concretely understand that whether democratic centralism is properly carried out or not and whether inner-party political life is normal or not have direct bearings on the fundamental destiny of the party and the state.

Based on these experiences and lessons, the new party constitution has clearly stipulated "all forms of personality cult are forbidden" and decisions on important questions must be made by the party committee through democratic discussion and not by individual. It has reiterated the democratic centralism discipline of the subordination of the individual to the organization, the subordination of the minority to the majority, the subordination of the lower level to the higher level and the subordination of various organizations of the whole party to the Central Committee and has stipulated the jurisdiction and duties of organizations at various levels. This has guaranteed the carrying out of democratic centralism and collective leadership in the party. The new party constitution has also stressed placing party discipline in an extremely important position and has stipulated that before party discipline no particular party members are allowed to keep himself outside its bonds; the need of abiding by the party constitution and respecting the rights of party members when enforcing discipline; the necessity of all party members to strictly observe party discipline and state law; and if a party organization seriously violates party discipline and is unable to rectify the mistake on its own, the next higher party committee should, after verifying the facts and considering the seriousness of the case, decide on the reorganization or dissolution of the organization. By developing inner-party political life in strict accordance with these stipulations of the new party constitution, we will certainly be able to build a centralized and unified party and eliminate all unprincipled factional struggles so that the whole party can take concerted action to struggle for the common goal and thereby win the confidence and popular support of the broad masses of people.

#### //4. The New Party Constitution Has Stipulated Strengthening the Political, Ideological and Organizational Leadership of the Party and Raising the Leadership Level of the Party//

An important difference in the new party constitution from previous party constitutions is that it has proposed a method to correctly give play to the leadership role of the party in the national life. This is also an important summing up of the experiences of the party in power. The new party constitution has stipulated: "Party leadership consists mainly in political, ideological and organizational leadership. The party must formulate and implement correct lines, principles and policies, do its organizational, propaganda and educational work well and make sure that all party members play their exemplary vanguard role in every sphere of work and every aspect of social life. The party must conduct its activities within the limits permitted by the constitution and the laws of the state. It must see to it that the legislative,

judicial and administrative organs of the state and the economic, cultural and people's organizations work actively and with initiative, as well as independently, responsibly and in harmony. The party must strengthen its leadership over the trade unions, the Communist Youth League, the Women's Federation and other mass organizations, and give full scope to their roles." Our party has very rich experience in leadership, however it has not been specially summed up in the party constitutions of the past, and therefore it cannot be mastered by all party members. After becoming the party in power, the party has been assailed by an enormous amount of administrative work requiring solutions. On the one hand this is a good thing for it shows the high prestige enjoyed by the party among the people, but on the other hand this has given rise to many defects resulting in the party being bogged down by numerous and complicated matters. This has developed into the tendency of "the party not running the party," affected the enthusiasm of administrative departments and has even created problems in inner-party unity and cooperation with non-party people. Outwardly, leadership seems to be strengthened because everything must be decided by the party organization, but in reality, party leadership has been weakened. Comrade Mao Zedong used to say that party leadership is primarily political leadership, leadership work is political work and leadership is out of the question if divorced from politics. He also said that if we only slacken up a bit in ideological work and political work, economic work and technical work will certainly go astray, and the first secretary of the party committee should personally attend to the matter of grasping ideological work. The stipulations of the new party constitution emphasize this idea. At present, some of the comrades engaged in party work have a special fondness for administrative work, as though they will have nothing to do if they do not do administrative work. This kind of thinking is one-sided and wrong and they must consciously correct it in accordance with the demands of the new party constitution. For the sake of enabling the comrades to understand more thoroughly the importance and necessity of strengthening ideological and political work we must also strengthen the study of the administrative experience of the party in power in accordance with the demands of the new party constitution. This will enable us to further enhance our level and art of leadership on the original basis so that we can fully arouse and give play to various positive factors and improve as well as strengthen the combat effectiveness and leadership prestige of the party.

The new party constitution has also made some important changes in the organizational system of the party. This will play an important role in the replacement of old cadres with new cadres and making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in age, better educated and professionally more competent. These changes and stipulations are also important measures for raising the combat effectiveness of the party and upholding and improving party leadership, and are necessary for organizationally guaranteeing the implementation and enforcement of party regulations and laws and guaranteeing the normalization of inner-party political life and collective leadership.

In short, the new party constitution is a more perfect party constitution. It is the program for party building in the new historical period. As long as we use practical action to consciously, strictly and conscientiously carry out work in accordance with the stipulations and demands of the new party constitution, we will certainly build our party into a politically more mature, ideologically more united and organizationally more consolidated strong leading core for uniting and leading the people of various nationalities throughout the country in carrying out socialist modernization.

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON APPRAISING NATIONAL HEROES

HK280349 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 82 p 2

["Contention Among a Hundred Schools of Thought" Column: "On the Appraisal of National Heroes"]

[Text] China has always been a multinationality country. How to look at historical heroes of various nationalities who through conflict with state power has been a controversial question in history circles. In an article entitled "On China's Territory in History and National Wars in Ancient Times," (WUUSHI XUEKAN, issue no 4, 1982) Chen Wutong gave his view on how to appraise national heroes.

Some comrades regard major contributions to the unification and development of their own nationality and to the development and consolidation of a united multinationality China as a criterion. These people call Yelu Abaoji, Kublai Khan and others heroes. They even think that Wushu and Duoduo were national heroes since they made contributions to the development and growth is southward expansion by the Jin and Qing dynasties respectively. The article expresses a different view from that held by these comrades. It holds that national heroes are closely linked with national struggle and that only outstanding persons who showed an indomitable spirit in struggle against national oppression and aggression by foreign nationalities and made important contributions to this struggle are national heroes. National heroes are necessarily involved in national struggles. Yelu Abaoji and Kublai Khan made important contributions to their own nationalities and to the historical development of the entire Chinese nation. They were outstanding people in history and should be duly affirmed. However, they cannot be considered as national heroes. Kublai Khan unified China and adopted various measures to develop and consolidate the cause of China's unification. He played a positive role in history. However, his subjective motives and intentions were to increase his acts of exploitation and to strengthen his rule. Through warfare, he not only savagely plundered and slaughtered the people of the southern Song dynasty by means of military force but also pursued a ruthless policy of national discrimination and oppression. The war launched by him was characterized by national oppression and therefore he cannot be called a national hero. The army and people of the southern Song dynasty waged a just war of resistance. Wen Tianxiang, who fought heroically in the forefront of this war and sacrificed his life, fully deserved the title of national hero. According to this principle,

neither Wushu nor Duoduo was a national hero and only Yue Fei and Shi Kefa can be called national heroes.

The article says that cruelty and destruction are unavoidable in war at any time. The northern minority nationalities' "invasions into the south" were cruel but was there any difference between these and the "northern expeditions" made by emperors in the central plain? In "An Account of a Pledge Made in Wuyue Temple," Yue Fei made clear his objective: "We must march across the desert, storm the capital of the savages and kill all of them." Going to war with such strong national hatred, his military activities were unlikely to be benevolent. The question lies in distinguishing the nature of the wars. All wars against national oppression, plunder and aggression are just and progressive wars which are conducive to the development of the motherland's history and should be affirmed positively by us. All heroes emerging in these wars are heroes of the Chinese nation and should be praised by us.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON APPRAISAL OF CAO CAO

HK290636 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Oct 82 p 2

["Contention Among a Hundred Schools of Thought" Column: "Correct Appraisal of Cao Cao in 'Romance of the Three Kingdoms'"]

[Text] WENXUE PINGLUN no 4, 1982 carried an article by Lin Qingxi entitled "On Methods for Studying the Image of Cao Cao" which puts forward views on appraising the image of Cao Cao.

The article says: Some people hold that the bad impression about Cao Cao mainly originated from the book revised by Mao Lun and his son Mao Zonggang, which changed a good Cao Cao into a bad one. This is because the aesthetics in the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" has not been understood. As a matter of fact, long before the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" was written, stories about the three kingdoms had already been very popular in the Song dynasty in the form of oral folk literature. In these stories, Cao Cao was already a negative character. Although the stories in the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" were based on the historical material in Chen Shou's "Records of the Three Kingdoms" and its notes by Pei Song, the portrayal of characters followed the line in popular stories about the three kingdoms. Can we appraise the characters in the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" today without taking into consideration the ethical standard put forth in the book? No, we cannot. Some people are accustomed to explaining questions from a political and military "high plane." It seems to them that Cao Cao's despotism and usurpation were for the sake of carrying out reforms and that his political tricks and killing of people were needed by the struggle. This has confused the criteria of knowledge. Onesidedly collecting material and viewing merely from the "historical contributions" of the political struggle and characters reflected in the book while ignoring the approach from ethics and individual characters in studying the artistic image of Cao Cao will only lead to academic bias.

The article says: We should look upon the revision made by the Maos in light of the overall relations of literary images. After reading carefully the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" revised by the Maos, none of Cao Cao's crimes were added by them during their revision. They had not changed the original intention of the Jiajing Edition. Judging from the Maos' views toward history, they indeed belonged to the Orthodox school of "honoring Liu and despising Cao." However, as writers who had mastered the art of novels, they first and foremost adhered to the laws of art in artistically polishing the "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" and had not inadequately put in concepts which impaired the images of the characters as a whole.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### 'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON HISTORY OF YIHETUAN MOVEMENT

HK290648 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Feng Shibo [7458 1102 6886]: "Some New Studies on the History of the Yihetuan Movement"]

[Text] The Society of Research on the History of the Yihetuan Movement held a symposium in Weihai Municipality, Shandong Province, 13-19 September. At the meeting, some problems were newly studied.

1. The origin of the Yihetuan--past studies chiefly concerned the tracing of its origin organizationally. Its origin ideologically was neglected. The schools of thought making up the organization of the Yihetuan were complicated. They formed into common ideology, heavily tinged with mysticism, in the process of assimilation and fusion. Primitive and backward religious beliefs among the people were drawn upon to give expression to the political demand for "slaughtering foreigners and exterminating missionaries." The mysticism of the Yihetuan chiefly found expression in its concept of robbing to effect a change, its polytheism and its belief in the "true God." The concept of "robbing" became an important ideological weapon to the Yihetuan in arousing the masses to resist imperialist aggression. The Yihetuan idea of robbing to effect a change was relatively close to the traditional faith of the White Lotus Society. The practice of worshipping various gods and communicating with spirits through mediums was another salient characteristic of the mysticism of the Yihetuan. The "unorthodox" features of folk religion were carried on, to a large degree. Various gods were used as a means to preach the goal of saving the victims of calamities, robbing to save the poor and transforming the world. This also chiefly found expression in "communication with spirits through mediums." "Inviting the visit of various gods" and "protecting the true god" were two interrelated concepts that the White Lotus Society and the Yihetuan used to express political thinking by means of mysticism.

2. Yuan Shikai's attitude toward the Yihetuan of Shandong--at this symposium, some comrades said that though Yuan Shikai was extremely hostile to the Yihetuan and resolutely advocated an emphasis on extermination, his attitude was restrained by the then prevailing situation and the Qing government's policy. There were changes in his attitude in different periods, which should be concretely analyzed. Yuan Shikai's attitude to the Yihetuan might generally be divided into five stages: 1) a resolute emphasis on extermination before he played the role as acting governor of Shandong; 2) a switch in his attitude to

the Yihetuan from an emphasis on extermination to an emphasis on urging a dissolution, after he played the role as acting governor of Shandong; 3) a change from an emphasis on urging a dissolution to an emphasis on extermination, before the Qing government declared war on foreigners; 4) a switch in his attitude to the Yihetuan from an emphasis on extermination to a combination of furtive extermination with open pacification efforts, after the Qing government declared war on foreigners; 5) a switch from a combination of furtive extermination with open pacification efforts to open massacre, after the eight-power allied forces occupied Beijing.

3. The methods of studying the Yihetuan—the participants in the meeting generally held that in studying the Yihetuan, we should strengthen the study of methodology. At the meeting, the following several suggestions were chiefly taken up: 1) in studying the Yihetuan, we must not only pay attention to studying the Yihetuan itself but also strengthen the study of the Qing government and the various aspects of the Chinese society at that time; 2) we must pay attention to studying the history of the Yihetuan movement from various angles, such as sociology, folklore and so forth; 3) in the study, we must pay attention to combining macroscopic with microscopic studies and cannot put personages and things in simplified form—they must be subjected to a concrete analysis; 4) we must strengthen the study of the aggression by foreign missions and struggle against foreign religions; 5) we must pay attention to unearthing and conserving historical data and attach importance to on-the-spot investigation and the assessment of data.

The meeting also made healthy studies on the real or false version of the Yihetuan—a matter that received relatively scant attention in the past—and on the problem of food supplies for the Yihetuan.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### TIANJIN GARRISON DISTRICT DISCUSSES CONGRESS GUIDELINES

SK300924 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Text] According to our sources, from 20 to 29 September the CPC Committee of the Tianjin garrison district sponsored an enlarged meeting with the participation of principal leading comrades at or above regiment level. During the meeting, taking the opening speech given by Comrade Deng Xiaoping as guiding ideology, participants earnestly studied and implemented the 12th National Party Congress guidelines. They unanimously pledged to resolutely support the newly elected leading organs under the CPC Central Committee and the resolutions adopted at the 12th National Party Congress. They are determined to more closely rally round the CPC Central Committee to enhance their vigor, to work hard and to unswervingly strive to strengthen the build-up of PLA units and militia forces and to fulfill the party's grand target.

During the meeting, Comrade Cao Zhongnan, delegate to the 12th Party Congress and political commissar of the municipal garrison district, first delivered a report relaying the grand occasion and guidelines of the 12th National Party Congress and putting forward ways how to successfully study the 12th Party Congress documents and important speeches.

During the meeting, on the basis of earnestly studying the 12th Party Congress documents, participating comrades held discussions on the following six special topics: 1) Issues concerning the historic change and the new great mission; 2) Issues concerning the strategic target, principles and policies of socialist economic construction; 3) Issues concerning the build-up of socialist spiritual civilization with the core of communist ideology; 4) Issues concerning the build-up of high-level socialist democracy; 5) Issues concerning the correct attitude toward the policy on upholding independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands; and 6) Issues concerning the enhancement of party building.

After their studies and discussions, participants are deeply convinced that the communist cause will certainly win a victory. They are firmly convinced that the party's line, principles and policies are totally correct and that the CPC Central Committee will certainly be able to lead us to fulfill all tasks set forth by the 12th National Party Congress.

The meeting also urged the party committees at all levels and political organs to strengthen their leadership in a down-to-earth manner, to take the campaign

of studying and implementing the 12th Party Congress' guidelines as the first big event and to carry out the campaign vigorously and satisfactorily. Various units should sponsor an enlarged meeting of their party committees to organize cadres to study the documents and hold training classes of backbone personnel in charge of propaganda work. Leaders at all levels should take the lead in successfully studying the documents and go deep into grassroots level to put extensive explanation and dissemination of the 12th Party Congress documents among the broad masses of cadres, fighters, and family members of staff and workers and to rapidly whip up an upsurge in studying and implementing the 12th National Party Congress documents throughout the municipal garrison district.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### TIANJIN HOLDS MEETING ON 12TH CPC CONGRESS GUIDELINES

SK030711 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 3 Oct 82

[Text] According to TIANJIN RIBAO, on the afternoon of 30 September, the CPC Committee of an organization at the municipal level sponsored a meeting of cadres of county-level government offices and cadres of the municipal tourist bureau. Zhang Zaiwang, a delegate to the 12th CPC National Congress and permanent secretary of the Tianjin CPC Committee, relayed the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress to some 1,000 office cadres and urged these office cadres to conscientiously study the congress documents.

At the meeting, Comrade Zhang Zaiwang relayed information on the grand occasion of the 12th CPC National Congress, reviewed the party history in the past decades and spoke glowingly of the important meaning and profound influence of the 12th CPC National Congress in the light of his personal understanding of the documents of the congress. He also reviewed the history on party's growth and talked freely of his experiences in studying the new CPC constitution and strengthening the party building in line with the reality of party's ideological and organizational construction. He also reviewed the situation on party building during the socialist period and, in particular, the tremendous changes in our country's economic construction since the 3d plenary session of the 11th Party Central Committee. He also expressed his firm confidence in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. He called on large numbers of cadres at organizations at the municipal level to set an example in studying and propagating the congress documents and to strive to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

Attending the meeting were (Han Shaowen), a delegate to the 12th CPC National Congress, standing committee member of the Tianjin CPC Committee and secretary general of the Tianjin CPC Committee, and responsible persons of departments concerned.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### TAIWANESE URGE STUDYING OF CONGRESS GUIDELINES

SK091058 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 9 Oct 82

[Text] According to our sources, on the afternoon of 8 October the Tianjin municipal branch of the Taiwan Democratic Self-Government League sponsored a forum to discuss and approve a resolution on earnestly studying and implementing the 12th CPC Congress documents.

The resolution urges all league members and Taiwanese compatriots to take the campaign of studying the 12th CPC Congress documents under the unified leadership of the Municipal CPC Committee and the party committees at all levels as a major task which will be totally fulfilled by the end of June 1983. Efforts should be made to adopt various measures to earnestly study and implement the documents by integrating the study with academic theories and to thoroughly understand various tasks and vital guidelines put forward by the 12th CPC National Congress so as to guide their acts and to make new contributions to achieving the four modernizations and the reunification of the motherland.

That day, the Tianjin Municipal Taiwan Compatriot Fellowship Society sponsored the second board meeting to study and discuss the opening speech given by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the 12th CPC National Congress, the work report given by Comrade Hu Yaobang and the closing speech given by Comrade Li Xiannian. At the meeting, participants stated that efforts should be made to heighten their spirit and work hard in their post to devote themselves to building China into a modern powerful socialist country and to strive to reunify the motherland, including Taiwan, and to maintain world peace. They pledged to strengthen unity and ties among Taiwanese compatriots both at home and abroad so as to make due contributions to the reunification of the motherland.

CS0: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### TIANJIN SPONSORS REPORT MEETING ON CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

SK100721 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 10 Oct 82

[Text] The United Front Work Department of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee held a report meeting at the Youyi Club yesterday afternoon. At the meeting, Comrade Zhang Zaiwang, permanent secretary of the Municipal CPC Committee, introduced the grand occasion, the achievements and significance of the 12th CPC National Congress to some 1,000 persons including leaders and members of various democratic parties and mass organizations concerned as well as persons from all walks of life. In line with his personal experience in studying the congress documents, he publicized and explained the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress. In the course of publicizing and explaining the documents, Comrade Zhang Zaiwang stressed the importance of strengthening unity and cooperation among various democratic parties, nonparty personages, minorities, personages from various religious circles and patriotic personages in the course of creating a new situation and in fulfilling the three major tasks of the 1980s. He expressed the hope that, inspired by the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, persons outside the party will give full play to their enthusiasm, initiative and creativeness and will really make new contributions on all fronts to creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and achieving the great cause of reunifying the motherland.

The report meeting was chaired by Zhou Ru, director of the United Front Work Department of the Municipal CPC Committee. Responsible persons of the Municipal CPPCC Committee, various democratic parties and mass organizations concerned including Zhu Ziqiang, Li Shouzhen, Lou Ningxian, (Wang Jifei), Zhao Jinsheng, Zhou Shutao, Yang Tianshou, Yang Jianbai, Fan Quan, Yu Songting, Liao Canhui, Huang Yusheng, Wu Tingqiu, Kang Tiejun, Chen Ruyu and Ha Litian attended the report meeting.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### TIANJIN HOLDS FAREWELL MEETING FOR RELEASED KUOMINTANG PERSONNEL

SK151325 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 15 Oct 82

[Excerpts] According to our sources, on the morning of 13 October, the municipal office in charge of placing released former Kuomintang personnel held a meeting to bid farewell to former Kuomintang party, government and military personnel and special agents below the county and regimental levels held in custody who have already been transferred to civilian work and been settled. In line with the decision of the State Council of the party Central Committee and the resolution adopted by the 22nd session of the standing committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, all former Kuomintang party, government and military personnel and special agents below the county and regimental levels who had worked at labor reform units have been transferred to civilian work and have been settled.

At the meeting, a responsible person of the Municipal Labor Reform Association, on behalf of the leading group in charge of the transfer and settlement work, issued certificates of transfer and settlement to the 250 people who are being transferred to civilian work and settled in the first stage. (Li Zhisheng), deputy secretary general of the Municipal People's Government, attended and addressed the meeting. He said: Through ideological reform, most of these people have done very well in their work and they have gradually become law-abiding citizens as well as laborers who support themselves by their own labor. The fact that the government is making proper arrangements for the placement of these people fully shows the incomparable superiority of our country's socialism and demonstrates that the policy of the party Central Committee on pardoning and releasing all former Kuomintang party, government and military personnel and special agents below the county and regimental levels held in custody is completely correct and proper.

(Li Zhisheng) gave a warm send-off to these people and urged them always to work hard, to make progress in their work, to make concerted efforts to create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and to make contributions to returning Taiwan to the motherland and accomplishing the great task of unifying the country.

Attending the meeting were responsible comrades of the United Front Work Department and the propaganda department of the Municipal CPC Committee, the Municipal Labor Bureau, [words indistinct], the Municipal Civil Administrative Bureau, [words indistinct], the First Commercial Bureau, the public security organs, procuratorial organs and people's courts. In the next few days, other farewell meetings will be held for people who have been transferred to civilian work and have been settled.

## PARTY AND STATE

### MEETING HELD ON 12TH PARTY CONGRESS GUIDELINES

SK131130 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 13 Oct 82

[Text] According to TIANJIN RIBAO, the United Front Work Department of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee held a report meeting a few days ago. Zhang Zaiwang, permanent secretary of the Municipal CPC Committee, propagated and explained the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress at the meeting. He introduced the grand occasion of the 12th Party Congress, expounded the important historic meaning of the congress and the focal points of congress documents and freely talked about his feeling on participating in the 12th Party Congress and his experiences gained from studying the congress documents.

Zhou Ru, director of the United Front Work Department under the Municipal CPC Committee and vice chairman of the Municipal CPPCC Committee, spoke at the meeting. Attending the report meeting were responsible persons of the Municipal CPPCC Committee, various democratic parties and mass groups concerned, including Zhu Ziqiang, Li Shouzheng, Lou Ningxian, Huang Difei, Zhao Jinsheng, Zhou Shutao, Yang Tianshou, Yang Jianbai, Fan Quan, Yu Songting, Liao Canhui, Huang Yusheng, Wu Tingqiu, Kang Tiejun, Chen Ruyu and Ha Litian. Also attending were leading personnel of various democratic parties and people's groups concerned in Tianjin and personalities of various circles, totalling some 1,000 persons.

TIANJIN RIBAO 13 October frontpages the article by Comrade Yan Dakai on his experiences gained from studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress. The title of the article is "Accelerate the Training of Scientific and Technological Personnel To Meet the Needs of the Four Modernizations."

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### LEADERS ATTEND COMMENDATION RALLY

SK220850 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 21 Oct 82

[Excerpt] On the morning of 21 October, the Municipal People's Government held a ceremonious commendation rally at the No. 1 Workers' Cultural Palace for excellent nursing staffs throughout Tianjin Municipality. The rally conferred the glorious title "Tianjin Excellent Nurse" on 143 nurses. Some of them are veteran models on the nursing front--the oldest one is 64 years old. Some are up-and-coming youngsters who became engaged in nursing work not long ago--the youngest one is 22 years old. Among them, 39 are party members, 28 percent of the total. They have a common characteristic, that is, loving nursing work, working in peace and contentment, enthusiastically attending to patients and striving to improve nursing quality. They have scored outstanding achievements in building spiritual civilization.

At 0800 this morning, when 143 municipal-level excellent nurses, who were dressed in white and neat work clothes and with red flowers on their chests, entered the rally place accompanied by a drum and trumpet team, the rally participants burst into warm applause. Attending the rally were leading comrades of the Municipal CPC Committee, the People's Congress Standing Committee, the People's Government and the Municipal CPPCC Committee, including Yan Dakai, Li Ruihuan, Liu Gang, Tan Shaowen, Bai Hua, Fan Quan, Yu Songting, Jin Xianzhai and Ha Litian.

CSO: 4005/83

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' ON COMRADE LIU LANBO

HK011101 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Li Rui [2621 6904]: "A Man Who Shone Brilliantly in His Later Years--In Memory of Comrade Liu Lanbo"]

[Text] When I returned from Yunnan in November last year, I learned that Comrade Lanbo's illness had worsened, but it was only after having waited for nearly a month before I was permitted to visit him in the hospital. He grasped my hand tightly. His voice was weak but he kept on talking and appeared to be slightly excited. His secretary told me that he seemed to be concerned with hydroelectric power even in his dreams and that he often called my name aloud. Since then, and before his passing, I visited him twice more, but he could no longer speak, although he still seemed to know who was visiting him. I could clearly see that modern science was keeping him alive but with every passing second he was drifting to the end. A relentless and inescapable law of nature, yet as one stood before his sickbed, there was no way of avoiding a deep sense of grief.

Lanbo was an elder brother to me and a bosom friend. From the 1950's to the 1980's, we had been assigned to the same work post. Our relations were superior and subordinate, first and second in command. We worked together for a long time and knew each other well. As early as the 1950's, we already dared to engage each other in heart-to-heart talks. Particularly in the last 3 years, we became all the more intimate and could talk with each other on any topic.

In 1952, I was transferred to the fuels ministry to take charge of the hydroelectric power department. Lanbo was in charge of the electric power department. At that time, hydroelectric power was hardly given any attention at all. The hydroelectric power bureau was not an independent unit and was nearly merged into the thermal electric power bureau (there are always people who despise new things). In the entire country there were only a score of aged people who were backbone technicians in hydroelectric power generation, but the most difficult problem was that there was only one geological engineer. In 1953, a meeting was held to distribute university graduates who had studied geology as their major subject. Lanbo was chairman of the meeting. He gave major attention to the needs of the coal sector for such personnel and failed to realize that knowledge in geology was also essential to hydroelectric power

construction. As a result, only two graduates were assigned to the hydroelectric power department. I was so furious that I walked out of the meeting as a token of protest. He never seemed offended by this uncivil act of mine.

In 1954, following the completion of plans for the Huanghe River, I instigated the appointment of Lanbo to lead a delegation to study the electric power industry of the Soviet Union. The delegation comprised a large number of personnel from the hydroelectric power department and I was the assistant chief of the delegation. Altogether we spent 4 months of the long winter season in the Soviet Union. Our visits were mostly confined to hydropower stations. Since then, the views of the two of us concerning the development of hydroelectric power in our country, have been entirely identical. We spent a month together in a room in the Kiev Hotel in Moscow. While in the daytime we were busily engaged in the daily routine, we frequently talked well into the night. Our talks covered a wide variety of subjects. Concerning the inside details of Chairman Mao's visit to the Soviet Union in 1949, I happened to have some special knowledge. He listened to me attentively and treated my words as news. The Soviet Union was undergoing some political changes at that time. Malinkov was appointed minister of the electric power department and as a whole there were intense discussions on problems such as those concerning Sino-Soviet relations. In the course of the 4-month sojourn in the Soviet Union, it was my habit to keep a small diary and to record something everyday. Very likely the diary contained a narration of our chats at night in the Kiev Hotel. In 1964, I was serving as a cultural tutor in a hydropower station in the Dabie Shan mountain range. During the early part of the "cultural revolution," my small diary was seized by the Red guards of the Ministry of Hydroelectric Power. In March and April 1967, they came twice to the hydropower station to see me and wanted me to make a "confession of my relationship with Liu Lanbo." I was aware that our close relationship was well known to many people in Beijing, so I took care to make a rather lengthy and detailed report. When in 1979 normal work was resumed, the relevant departments returned to me the full text of the report I had previously submitted. The script contained much information about Lanbo. They were mostly tidings of the past which I cannot recollect at present. Below I shall cite some excerpts therefrom (also inserting one or two remarks here and there). The excerpts give a sideview of Lanbo's characteristics.

The report began by stating that in the 7 years from 1952 to the Lushan Conference in 1959, the relationship between Lanbo and myself was a relatively intimate one. I suppose that the principal reason was that aside from our mutual professional connections, we were more or less alike in thought and sentiment. In other words, we both had "rightist" feelings. I considered him an honest person, democratic and never given to maltreating other people. As a result, a very close relationship gradually developed and we talked to each other in confidential terms and in a sense of mutual trust. The following is an example:

On the return trip from the Soviet Union, I talked to him in the plane with some feeling and expressed the hope that there would be no more big "movements" or campaigns. I touched on the topic of "forgiveness" dwelt upon by our past classical school. In reality, this denoted a distrust of mass

movements and was a kind of thinking akin to a fear of class struggle. He was silent but did not refute my viewpoint.

On an occasion in 1956 or 1957, we were leaving a meeting of the State Council. Because the topic of the Yangtze Gorge was discussed at the meeting, I foolishly said: "After all, the chairman is not a sage." Although at the time he rebuked me for my liberalism and lack of "organizational spirit," yet he was only afraid that what I said might cause trouble and in reality was not criticizing my way of thinking and understanding. He was an extremely cautious person, never committed to loose or unrestrained talk. On important occasions he acted even more so.

At the time of the anti-rightist movement in 1957, he was sympathetic to those mentioned as rightist elements. In particular, he expressed a deep sense of pity for a translator of the Russian language in the editing and translation office. The personnel of the "anti-party" bloc of Liaoning Province were all his old acquaintances. He would feel a deep sense of grief whenever mention was made of them and could hardly conceal his resentment at the kind of "struggles" directed against them. He said: "How can we interpret different viewpoints and some little comments as being anti-party?" (Among the elder comrades in northeast China, he was actually a central figure. Some people said that he was like a magnet attracting people to him.)

I believe that at the time of the "great leap forward" in the 2 years of 1958 and 1959, our views concerning the "three red flags" were more or less the same. For example, in the summer of 1958, at a meeting in Shanghai on planning for the east China region, the 1959 targets were increased considerably. I spoke to Liu over the telephone and told him of my strong objection. He was in complete agreement with my views. At the time, I wrote a letter to Chairman Mao and showed a copy of the letter to Liu. Because the electric power industry failed to catch up with the great leap forward targets, when Chairman Mao met Liu on one occasion, he half amusingly scolded him and said: "Only you have failed to do your stuff!" In December 1958, after the Wuchang conference, everybody visited Macheng (a model city of the great leap forward in Hubei Province) to take a look at a cotton plantation and a newly built group dormitory of a production team. He talked to me about his recollections of rural life. He appeared to be depicting the life of a well-to-do peasant family whose thought and feelings were completely at variance with the communization movement of the time. On one occasion, at a meeting of heads of government departments and bureaus, some people expressed doubts on communization. He sat silent. Concerning the nonfulfillment of targets, what he said to me was: "It was like hanging from the neck and walking in the air without the heels touching the ground."

At the time of the Lushan conference, we were assigned to the same dormitory but not to the same discussion unit. In the first part of the conference, Liu Zhaoqi pointed out: "The results have been much talked about and we have also talked about the defects." Indeed, people were all talking about the defects with great enthusiasm. The mood of "letting off steam" or "pouring cold water" was very much in evidence. The industrial and communications sectors complained the most. I recall that Liu also made some complaints

(what he actually said I cannot now remember). Actually, Liu well knew the people I was associated with and my activities at the time. During the Yanan period, he had worked in the United Front Department under the leadership of the elder Ke. He was therefore very much acquainted with Ke. Prior to 23 July, the leftist elements led by Ke were very active. Liu was afraid that I might be involved and become the target of attack. At that time, there were various kinds of comments on the letter written by Peng Dehuai to Chairman Mao. The leftist elements believed that Peng's attack was directed at Chairman Mao. Liu and myself assessed the situation and its possible development. He asked for my views. I gave my opinion that what the chairman said could be "50-50 between 'right and left!'" At the time, my feelings were very heavy and I was slightly angry. Liu too was in the same mood. During the early period of the conference we and several ministers of the industrial departments toured the hills and visited, I think, the botanical garden. When everybody was talking about the difficulties in the rural areas, I blurted out the remark that the Chinese peasants were, relatively speaking, law-abiding and that if this were Eastern Europe the peasants would have risen in revolt. I was the target of attack (struggled against) at one of the meetings of the unit. Subsequently, Liu specially told me that Zhang Linzhi had told him what I said at the botanical garden, but Zhang did not bring the matter up at the meeting. Obviously, Zhang was shielding me. I asked Liu to look over what I wrote in the "confession." He gave me some advice, including whose help to seek so that I could easily get through.

The above was part of the "confession" I wrote at the time. It can be seen that the words and description conform more or less to usages at the time. I was making some sort of statement or "confession." There were hardly any flattering words such as those in articles commemorating people. Nevertheless, even from these "confessed" materials, we can still discern Comrade Liu's bearing, his virtue, views about what was right or wrong and his spirit of strictly adhering to principles.

In the past years, people could not help but act very carefully and paint on themselves some protective color. They had to mince their words when speaking to people and also had to be cautious even before intimate friends and relatives. All this can hardly be criticized. However, upon returning to my post at the Ministry of Electric Power in 1979, I discovered Liu Lanbo to be an entirely different person compared with before. What had vanished was his cautious attitude, his mild speech, his silence and his worldly-wise and playing safe manner. Rather, I found that he was easily excited when talking to other people, that he readily displayed his emotions and that he liked to speak out and was inclined to be temperamental. And the most fundamental change was that compared with the past he was much more concerned with the destiny of the party and the country. Outwardly, he had the appearance of a sick old man, although at heart his spirit was as vigorous as that of a young man. He was a member of the standing committee and at meetings, when other members would prefer to appear contented and would not speak out, he frequently showed an indomitable spirit and said what was on his mind. Since he resumed the post of minister of electric power and up to the time of his death, for 3 years he was confined to the hospital and his room served as the place to meet people, to read his letters, to converse with other people, to

read over official papers and even to hold meetings. He was often found dozing on the sofa with the official papers in his hands. In 1979, his incoming mail was extremely heavy. The party committee of the ministry had courteously requested that not too many letters be shown to him, but this was futile. Finally, he arranged with his secretary that each day not more than 10 letters be shown to him. That year, he read over and wrote down his comments on over 100 of these letters. Whenever an important meeting was called, he would, despite his illness, brace himself to meet the participants. Since 1979, a national conference on electric power has been convened annually. He attended each and every one of them and made a report at each meeting. When reading his report, he would often discard the prepared script and speak extemporaneously. Actually, his extemporaneous delivery was the most vivid and most impressive part of his report. When attending the conferences, because of his heart ailment, he would walk slowly up the stairs to the first floor, stop there for a rest and chat with the delegates in the sitting room before going into the conference room. He did not want to appear as a sick man before the 1,000-odd participants at a conference. He would always be dressed in proper attire and present a bold appearance, as if he were just as energetic as before. He showed exceptional concern for the life of the people. He recommended the convening of a national conference on the living conditions of employees and workers of the entire electric power system. During the conference period, he attended four meetings within a single week. The conference site was on the fourth floor. Naturally, his efforts to get there were gigantic.

All along Lanbo paid high regard to the intelligentsia. At the time of the fuels ministry, he was responsible for the preparation and establishment of the Beijing Mining Institute and the Petroleum Institute. When he was in charge of electric power, he founded the Electric Power Institute. At that time, there was a dire lack of teaching personnel. He even went so far as to see the head of the Beijing Public Security Bureau to look for some teachers among the detainees. During the "great cultural revolution," many of the schools, scientific and technological institutes and planning organs under the ministry of water conservancy and power, particularly certain of the backbone units of the water conservancy and power system, were broken up and demolished, their files burned and their personnel sent to the countryside. Whenever this was mentioned to him, he would be deeply saddened and was moved to tears. (Even the death of his daughter during the 10 years of disturbance did not move him so deeply or impress him so indelibly). It was said that in Chengde a graduate of Qinghua University in the 1950's, who had worn the "rightist" cap, was in such very pitiful financial circumstances that he had to sell meal tickets. Liu specially invited him to Beijing and gave him a teaching post in the Electric Power Institute. Several similar incidents may be recorded. At each and every meeting on electric power work, he would dwell on the question of the intelligent elements. In his belief, the general situation was that the intelligent elements were not properly or adequately used and that, even worse, they were not used importantly and that none, or few, had been given posts of the first three ranks. With great emotion 'bottled up' or allowed to 'dry by the wind.'" Although some units did promote technical cadres of leadership positions, yet their rank was usually far behind that of others and they had no real power at all, particularly the power to employ people. They were just dispensable. Even in the discussion

of important matters of technology, their views were often not solicited. Many of the leadership cadres simply made use of the technical personnel, seldom bothered to talk with them intimately or do any ideological processing work on them. The living problem of the technicians never constituted a matter of concern and far less attention was paid to their wishes to join the party. In Liu's opinion, the poisonous notion of treating the intelligentsia as "stinking persons" was still very much prevalent in the minds of many people, while other notions such as "the unique importance of class origin," "historical problem," "social relations," "family background" and so on, still dominated. He considered all these notions as barriers to giving proper treatment to the intelligentsia. He often told comrades from other localities that if we do not promote the intelligent elements with special training to leadership posts, then the four modernizations cannot be realized. He also asked leadership cadres to learn their respective trade and believed that a leadership cadre should possess the technical knowhow which is commensurate with the duties of his position. On one occasion, at the national conference on electric power work held in February 1980, when he was aware that certain leadership cadres in the electric power system even did not know what the term "cycle" meant, he suddenly issued an order that all the participants should take part in a test on relevant technical knowledge. This shocked everybody. He took pains to draft the major questions (51 big and small ones in all). This kept him up into the small hours of the mornings. He also patiently read over some of the answers. In the course of the conference, he talked very feelingly as follows: "We hope that this test will help to promote an interest in learning. We should acknowledge that our leadership cadres sadly lack the knowhow and experience in managing modernized production and construction. I am one of these leadership cadres. Chairman Mao has more than once instructed us to change from being a layman to becoming a professional. Up to now, I am still not a professional, and I know only one-half of the truths of many things. I sincerely hope that you will not follow my steps. If you do not work hard when you are young, you will regret it when you become old."

In the final 3 years of his work, Comrade Lanbo tightly grasped the problem of cadres, particularly the shaping and formation of a good leadership group. On various occasions, he often said: "The three categories of people" and the "windy" type of people cannot be allowed to remain in the leadership posts. He sent an advance copy of the report to the conference in February 1980 to Comrade Yaobang to look over first and received approbation for it, with the request "that a copy be sent to Comrade Song Renqiong so that the central organization department can know the trend of certain cadres." The following excerpt from the report made by Comrade Lanbo 2 and 1/2 years ago is really worthy of our deep consideration.

"In particular, what we must be vigilant about is the following:

"Among the various levels of our leadership group, from their thought to action, is there still a small minority of people who, up to the present moment, are still opposed to the party's line and guiding principle? This category of people is different from those who do not understand the spirit of the third plenary session. The difference lies in a matter of principle and not one of understanding.

"Is there still a small minority who, up to the present moment, have steadfastly boycotted the series of important policies of our party Central Committee such as those relating to cadres, the intelligent elements and the rectification of framed-up cases and false or erroneous court cases?

"Is there still a small minority who basically have no regard for our party's discipline and national laws, who are lawless and boldly do what they want and are still engaged in petty politics?

"I believe that there are still such kinds of people, although naturally enough we will not be certain until after investigation. These types of people constitute the unstable elements, or rather the hidden unstable elements. We should never treat them lightly. If you do not deal with them, they will molest you instead. Of course, we permit the making of errors and the rectifying of errors, but we should never permit errors to go unrectified. We must give those who have committed errors a chance to rectify them but should never continue to assign important positions to those who have insisted on committing errors. We should carefully discern what is right or wrong and be just in meting out punishment or giving awards. As long as I live, I am determined to hold fast to this principle. Hence, I hope that I can live several years longer."

Subsequently, he heard somebody make the remark at a meeting that we must not deal too severely with those who had committed errors and therefore should "let bygones be bygones." He was extremely angered. He discussed this crucial problem with me and, citing several names, asked: "Shall we also 'let bygones be bygones'" in his report mentioned above, he said:

"From letters received from certain people and from conversations I had with comrades I contacted, it appeared that the leadership elements in some of the units had established themselves by questionable means, that some were still involved in petty politics and that among them were some people of the 'windy' type. These people have not yet acknowledged, or rectified, their errors, or even subjected their errors to open scrutiny. Our comrades cannot feel at ease, and nor do I feel at ease, to allow these people to continue to remain at their posts!"

When he spoke extemporaneously without using a prepared script, he would be in a state of great excitement. In a trembling voice, he said: "I can hardly die with my eyes closed if this matter of reorganizing the leadership group is not done well."

As for Lanbo's initiating a request to retreat to the "second line" of work and recommending Comrade Li Peng to succeed him in the former ministry of electric power, the incident was well-known to everybody. It received commendation from leadership comrades of the central government and he was praised as a worthy example. It appeared that in his visit to the Soviet Union in 1954, it was graduation time for new China's first group of students sent to the Soviet Union to study water conservancy and electric power. They joined our delegation and Li Peng was one of the graduates. At that time, Lanbo was a purposeful and observant person. He trained and took good care

of these graduates through the years. In particular, he showed special concern for Li Peng. He made Li fully conversant with the affairs of the whole ministry, from water conservancy to thermal power generation, and put him in various posts such as chief engineer, section head, party committee secretary and bureau chief. Finally, he named Li as his successor. This complied fully with the standard formulated by the Central Committee for the modernization of cadres.

I can cite many instances of his dare-to-do spirit which characterized him as being entirely different from before, of his readiness to speak out and to make suggestions and of his firm resolve to stick by his own convictions. For example, he was insistent to the end on strengthening the centralization and unification of control within the electric power industry. This was one of the seven guidelines in his article entitled "Must Change the Retrogressive Electric Power Industry to Being Progressive" which was carried in the Beijing RENMIN RIBAO of 19 May 1979. Comrade Chan Yun highly praised this article. He read it over twice and asked his secretary to send Lanbo a letter with the following words: "Be determined to carry out these guidelines in your article. You have my full support." In the 10 years of turbulence, the centralized and unified management system of the country's electric power networks was badly disturbed. The decision in 1979 on the division of water conservancy and electric power into two separate departments made the solution of this problem all the more difficult. As a result, unmindful of his state of health, he bravely offered his views to the leadership in the State Council and to the relevant departments and committees and pointed out the pros and cons of the issue at stake.

In his letter to the State Council, he wrote: The Danjiangkou Hydroelectric Power Station has an installed generating capacity of 900,000 kilowatts, or about one-fifth of the power generating capacity of the two provinces of Hubei and Hunan. It is the central station and the general confluence point of the power network in central China. It performs the important functions of adjusting the power current and supply and serving as the contingency power reserve for the entire network. Particularly in emergency cases, the time element is extremely important. Hence, the bureau in charge of the network must have unified control of its production management." ... "Hydroelectric power constitutes an increasingly important and indivisible part of the electric power industry. I am old and weak now and, perhaps, should take a rest but since this matter concerns the national development of the electric power industry, I cannot help but mention it. Concerning the above-mentioned problems, I am not fighting for power or profit. What I am fighting for is rationality and for the speedy realization of the four modernizations." Later, the State Council convened a meeting to discuss these problems. Comrade Lanbo personally attended the meeting. He strenuously presented his case and acted as if he were a vigorous young man.

For quite some time prior to the convening of the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our conversations frequently touched upon the question of thought liberation among the various levels of the leadership. We both realized the extent of the damage inflicted by "leftist" thought over the past 20 years. When we touched on the general situation, he was often

filled with emotion. After these discussions, he strongly felt a sense of responsibility to the party, the state, future generations and the communist international. Therefore, he sent a letter to the central leadership in which he frankly dwelt upon his apprehensions and the reasons for them. That these problems were eventually solved at the sixth plenary session greatly pacified his feelings.

He was aware that his time was running short. He frequently told those near him that he must finish the things that he wanted done and speak up about what he should say. As his illness worsened, on the last occasion when he was discussing work, he still murmured in an extremely weak voice: "We must fight for hydroelectric power, fight for the speed of development and also fight for nuclear power generation...."

"Lanbo stopped breathing at 1500 on 5 March this year. I believe that at the last moment his thoughts and feelings, which gradually weakened and eventually passed away, were extremely peaceful. In recent days, it has frequently come upon me that the Lanbo whom I had met in the last 3 years--the lustrous and brilliant Lanbo--was in reality his true self. In the past, this lustre was covered up by much caution (perhaps by some sort of reticence). Those old comrades who had unfortunately passed away before the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee never had an opportune moment to show their lustre throughout their whole lives. This is truly unfortunate, for the individual and for history. It is fortunate that Lanbo, in his last 3 years, the last 3 years of his life, could show his true colors. The regret is that the available time was far too short. It was like a candle burning brilliantly and, in the twinkling of an eye, was reduced to ashes.

In his 3 years of confinement to the hospital, Lanbo was a patient who was notorious for his nonobservance of the rules. Many comrades, particularly the medical people, advised him to read fewer documents, to receive fewer guests, to talk less and, best of all, not to go out to attend meetings. If he had accepted these remonstrations and advice, our Comrade Lanbo might have been able to live to take part in the 12th Party Congress. Indeed, we can blame him for not understanding the dialectics of "less work means more work and more work means less work." Truly this is a lesson to be taken by many of our aged comrades. But it is something that is out of control. If for many years the aspirations of one's nature have been kept under restraint but if someday opportunity suddenly presents itself, why should one worry when one will die!

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' ON MARXIST PHILOSOPHY, COMMUNISM

HK010809 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Xing Bensì [6717 6321 1833]: "Marxist Philosophy and Communist Ideology"]

[Text] The program rich in foresight, the grand goal of developing the national economy and the fighting call for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization which were put forth by the report to the 12th CPC National Congress have tremendously inspired the whole party, the whole army and the people all over the country. After studying the report to the 12th CPC National Congress, we philosophical workers are full of confidence in the future of our great motherland and fully proud of our cause which is steadily advancing under the leadership of the party. The report to the 12th CPC National Congress put forth a number of major issues, one of which is the question of socialist spiritual civilization. Through the 30 years of tortuous development after the founding of the PRC and through our efforts to sum up the experiences both positive and negative in the international communist movement, the importance of socialist spiritual civilization has become clearer and clearer; and through a space of serious study and exploration, its contents and core have become clearer and more definite. These achievements of understanding have been reflected in the report. The report points out that socialist spiritual civilization constitutes an important characteristic of the socialist system; socialist spiritual civilization holds an important position and plays a great role in socialist construction; without socialist spiritual civilization, the victory of the cause of socialist construction would be out of the question; socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and ideological; communist ideology is the core of socialist spiritual civilization, and so on. The formulation of these important ideas is of extremely great significance not only to enriching and developing the theory of scientific socialism but also to enriching and developing Marxist philosophy. It is the duty of Marxist philosophical workers to study and spread these important ideas and to implement them in practice.

Marxist philosophy constitutes a component part of Marxism and also a component part of the scientific communist ideological system. Marxist philosophy is the world outlook of the proletariat. Its task is to arm the working class and its party as well as the broad bases of people with the knowledge of commonest

laws governing nature, society and human thinking and with a scientific world outlook and methodology and to give them a powerful cognitive weapon with which they direct their practice and continuously open up new prospects for the development of socialism and communism. Marxist philosophy is a weapon for us to understand the world in a scientific way. In a certain sense, it is justifiable to say that Marxist philosophy plays a particularly important role in understanding social phenomena, that is, in understanding the historical trends and historical laws of human society. Together with the doctrine of surplus value, Engels regarded historical materialism as Marx's epoch-making discoveries and as two important theoretical cornerstones of the scientific communist ideological system. The role of Marxist philosophy in understanding social phenomena is manifested mainly in the fact that it enables the people to get a clear picture of the inevitability of historical development from the innumerable fortuitous historical factors and from a variety of complicated historical phenomena. In understanding society from this viewpoint, we can see that class society is not eternal and it is bound to advance towards the communist society of the proletariat; we can see that because there exist insurmountable contradictions within the capitalist system, it will eventually be replaced by the socialist and communist systems, although in today's world, some superficial prosperous phenomena prevail in quite a few capitalist countries. Therefore, communism is the road one must follow in history and the inevitable end-result of the development of human society. In approaching our present society from this viewpoint, we can see that although we are in the primitive phase of communism--the socialist phase--which is not yet highly developed; although the level of our economic development is not yet high due to our past relatively backward economy coupled with our experience of a period of history full of complications; although we are still faced with difficulties and we may encounter all sorts of dangers and difficulties, we will certainly win a thoroughgoing victory in the cause of our socialist construction. This is because we have, after all, established the socialist system and furthermore our socialist system has become consolidated after experiencing grave tests in history. We have found out the path for attaining socialist modernization, which is suited to China's national condition by continuously carrying out practice and exploration and unceasingly summing up experience. Beyond all doubt, our present underdeveloped socialism is bound to steadily advance towards the highly developed socialist phase, and eventually the brilliant prospects of communism will surely come true. The argument that communism is an illusion and is purely imaginary is wrong. This is not only because communist ideas and actions have long been part of our life but also because the realization of communism as a social system is no longer unattainable. So long as we conscientiously implement the party's line, principles and policies which have been tested in history and will greatly develop in future, we will be able to continuously open up new prospects for socialist construction and to gradually approach the great goal of communism.

The work of Marxist philosophy must help the people foster communist ideology and strengthen their belief in communism. This is one side of the coin. The other side is that to build socialist spiritual civilization and to help the people foster communist ideology and belief in communism, it is necessary to vigorously encourage the study of Marxism, including its philosophy.

Communism is a scientific theoretical system and a system of knowledge which was formed on the basis of summing up the outstanding cultural achievements in human history, and in particular, on the basis of summing up the outstanding achievements created by mankind in both the natural and social sciences in the 19th Century rather than a prejudiced narrow theory out of the mainstream of human civilization. It is quite richly endowed with theory and knowledge. It proves the historical necessity with extremely strict logic on the basis of the advances gained in these contents of theory and knowledge. It is utterly ridiculous to regard the communist ideological system as a mystery and as a thing which the ordinary working people cannot understand. Contrarily, it is similarly wrong to regard communism as very meager knowledge and to think that by learning by heart several quotations and even some phrases, we can already be regarded as having understood its true essence. Communism is a belief of ours and it is above all a science. We believe in communism not only because it tallies with the interests of the broad masses of people but also because it is an objective law independent of man's will. The justness of communism and its necessity are identical. Without historical necessity as its foundation, the justness of communism would be devoid of content. Many utopian socialist thinkers sought social justice--communism--all their lives, but because of their lack of scientific knowledge of socialism and communism, they failed to establish a scientific theoretical system. Their theory turned out eventually to be empty preaching. Although their theory could touch off people's imaginations with longing for the future, they failed to inspire the conscious revolutionary enthusiasm of vast numbers of people. Our belief in communism is based on scientific knowledge which finds expression in the understanding of its final conclusion that communism is a historical necessity and the end-result of human society on the one hand and in the acceptance of the contents of theory and of knowledge which are extremely rich and have been tested in practice to be correct and with which it proves this conclusion on the other hand. A fighter for communism must be a politically conscious fighter who really comprehends the communist ideological system ranging from its conclusion to the rich contents which it embraces. The belief of such a fighter in communism is firm. Facing any dangers and difficulties, he can remain firm and persistent and sacrifice what he has and even his life if necessary. He is willing to lay down his life to defend communism. As many martyrs did, he is ready to fulfill the vow that "it does not matter if one is beheaded, so long as one's belief is true."

As an ideological system, since communism has extremely rich contents of theory and knowledge and since it is a scientific truth, it is impossible to understand it without learning it and also impossible to understand it without the help of a "teacher," and it is impossible for communism to take shape in people's brains spontaneously. Even the working class whose class interests and communist ideology are totally identical still cannot produce communism spontaneously. It is only its class status and its practice that make it easier for them to accept communist ideology compared with other working people. No one can really foster communist ideology without learning, what is more, without serious and painstaking learning. As early as the beginning of this century, while waging struggle with "economic faction" who worshiped spontaneous forces, Lenin stressed the great significance of the

study of revolutionary theory to enhance the political consciousness of the proletariat. He pointed out that without revolutionary theory, there would be no revolutionary movements. Only the party guided by advanced theory could realize the role of an advanced fighter. He further pointed out that the workers' movement could only spontaneously give rise to unionism but could not possibly bring about socialist ideology spontaneously. For this reason, the party of the working class should imbue the workers' movement with socialist ideology. Lenin put forth an important question of a theoretical nature in this respect, that is, how can the workers' movement be turned from being spontaneous into being conscious and what ways should be taken to cultivate and develop the class consciousness and the communist consciousness of the working class? This important idea of Lenin is of instructive significance to the building of our socialist spiritual civilization and of our communist ideology. It tells us that to fulfill the task of building a high-level of socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, a task put forth by the report to the 12th CPC National Congress, it is necessary to intensify the study of Marxism including its ideology.

Although we live today under the socialist system and although the bright prospects of communism tally completely with the interests of the vast numbers of people and although the communist movement is being carried out right beside us, communist ideology still cannot take shape spontaneously. In particular, we must see that although the exploiting classes have been eliminated as classes in our country today, historically, the pernicious influence of the exploitative system and exploiting classes left over in all fields cannot be eliminated once and for all within a short time. Capitalist forces abroad and some forces hostile to our socialist cause will still possibly corrupt and sabotage our country. As a result, class struggle will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time to come and the struggle may grow acute under certain conditions. At present the struggle against the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas carried out in the economic, political, ideological and cultural fields constitutes a manifestation of class struggle. Under these circumstances, communist ideology must expand its position for its own sake through the struggle with various non-Marxist ideas. In this struggle, it is necessary to intensify the study of theory. Only through study and with the aid of Marxism, can the people compare and distinguish, can they guard against the corrosive influence of various non-Marxist ideas and can they resist the influence of all types of bourgeois trends which are of the latest brands and are in fact rotten to the core. In addition, the people will choose the truth of communism through this kind of comparison and distinction. To help the people and in particular, the younger generation, believe in communism and consciously resist the various feudal and bourgeois ideological trends, we have to depend on bringing the theoretical might of Marxism including its philosophy into play and on conducting highly effective education in ideology and theory rather than depending on administrative means. Let us bear firmly in mind Lenin's teaching of "learning, learning and again learning," conscientiously carry out the study of and education in Marxism, that is, the scientific communist ideological system, do a practical job of implementing the program for building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and intensifying the building of communist ideology put forth by the 12th Party Congress, and lay a sound foundation for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' ON SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

HK220504 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Li Shu [7812 3412]: "On Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] The 12th Party Congress put forth a grand task before the whole party and the people of the whole country: To create a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. One important content in this task is to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. Before the 12th Party Congress, the party Central Committee had repeatedly and seriously pointed out: While building a high level of material civilization, we must strive to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. This is a matter of strategic principle for building socialism. Whether this principle is upheld has a bearing on the success and failure of our socialist cause. The 12th Party Congress once again stressed this problem, made all-round and systematic exposition on this matter from the height of theory and politics and expounded the significance and role of building socialist spiritual civilization, its mutual relationship with the building of material civilization and the contents and methods in this building. This exposition has made us more profoundly understand this matter. The party attaches great importance to the building of spiritual civilization while the whole nation is concentrating on the economic construction of modernization. This provides an important guarantee for the healthy development of economic construction. This can also strengthen people's confidence in the realization of the grand program put forth by the 12th Party Congress.

Our only purpose in developing the modernized economy is to build socialism and to seek the well-being of the people. So, we must have highly developed spiritual civilization of a socialist nature. If we do not set forth this task in time and do not strive to fulfill this task, then not only will our economic modernization meet with insurmountable difficulties, but our economic construction and the whole society will be eroded and damaged by all kinds of capitalist decadent ideology and remnant feudal ideology will run rampant everywhere. As a result, most people will suffer and be drawn into disasters. This danger should particularly be brought to our attention while the policy of opening up to the outside world is being adopted in our country. Therefore, the building of a high level of socialist spiritual civilization is both a far-reaching strategic measure and an immediate necessity.

Any type of spiritual civilization must be based on a certain type of material civilization. In particular, the development of science and the popularization of culture and education must depend on corresponding material means and economic strength. In general, however, spiritual civilization, especially the level of ideology, morality and politics, does not passively rely on the development level of material civilization. Each time that huge progress was made in human material civilization, it was always preceded by some kind of reform in ideology and culture. In history, it is an usual phenomena that comparatively advanced spiritual civilization emerges in some eras and countries where material civilization is comparatively backward. For example, the renaissance of capitalism happened before, not after the industrial revolution. "Countries which are backward in economy can still play the first violin of philosophy: This thing can be seen in France of the 18th century as compared with Britain, and also in Germany afterward as compared with France and Britain." In China, Han and Tang dynasties were the periods when the feudal culture was in its prime. Though these two dynasties are also considered as periods when the economy was flourishing, the development level of productive forces in those days was obviously lower than that in the last years of the Ming dynasty and in the early years of Qing dynasty. However, no higher level of culture emerged in those later dynasties. Even the level of academic thinking created by scholars before the Qing dynasty was hardly seen in later times. But this is not strange because the development of spiritual civilization is relatively independent and is influenced by many factors.

Among these factors, there are two very important ones. The first is the existing and emerging social systems, which include economic and political systems and social relations caused by these systems (mainly class relations in class societies). The class, which represents a certain social system and holds a dominant position or plays a leading role in social relations, together with its interests and will, its spiritual conditions and cultural attainments, can directly influence and determine the development level and orientation of education, science and culture in a society. Its world outlook and political ideals can even determine the basic contents of social ideology and moral standards and thus become a core dominating the entire spiritual civilization. Therefore, a certain type of spiritual civilization is always linked with a certain social system. Development conditions of a social system directly determine the prosperity and decline of a certain type of spiritual civilization; while spiritual civilization also reacts on a social system and functions as a great strength in promoting or hindering social progress. The second factor is cultural heritage and national traditions. Spiritual development in all societies must be based on previous spiritual achievements and forms. After transformation in accordance with real needs and the influx of new contents, more exquisite achievements will thus be produced. The good cultural heritage of a nation is a kind of nourishment in the development of its spiritual civilization. The quality of this nourishment has a bearing on the development. At the same time, the historical traditions of a nation and its attainments in theory and morality also serve as a condition for its building of a new spiritual civilization. This condition is always both favorable and unfavorable at the same time to this building, thus forming a complicated situation. Therefore, in the course of

building a new and higher level of spiritual civilization, there is always a matter of reasonably criticizing and carrying forward the cultural heritage of one's own nation and of the whole human society and correctly treating and utilizing national traditions. How well this matter is handled undoubtedly affects the building of spiritual civilization to a great extent. Our nation has rich cultural heritage and an excellent national tradition. In particular, we have set up a socialist system, and the clash of accumulated many experiences in the field of ideological and cultural building. The party attaches great importance to the matter concerning spiritual civilization. All this constitutes our favorable conditions.

Although the economy in our country is still backward at present, so long as we can make good use of these favorable conditions, we can certainly succeed in building highly developed socialist spiritual civilization while building highly developed socialist material civilization.

The report to the 12th Party Congress points out that socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and the ideological, and that its core is communist ideology. Communist ideology plays a guiding role in cultural building. Educating people with communist ideology is undoubtedly an important link in the building of spiritual civilization, and its importance is especially evident at the present stage. How to do a good job in this field is a question calling for our serious study. On the one hand, we should not belittle or replace other contents of spiritual civilization with the education in communist ideology; on the other hand, we should not think that this education only covers a narrow sphere. Rather, we should link it with all aspects of the building of spiritual civilization. Thus, ideological education and cultural development can promote each other and bring out the best in each other.

Communism is not composed of a few simple formulas. Rather, it is a scientific system of theory formed on the basis of summing up all cultural achievements in human history. Thus, it contains rich elements of knowledge. Without reaching a certain level of education, it is difficult for people to master it. In this sense, raising people's cultural level bears an important relationship with education in communist ideology and morality. As a matter of fact, many immoral and uncivil deeds are caused by people's benighted condition. It is also because of the low level of education and the lack of ability to distinguish between right and wrong that some youths degenerate into criminals. Of course, the cultural level is not a decisive factor of people's ideological consciousness, but it still serves as an important condition for the improvement of their consciousness. This is more evident in the growing up of a communist, because not only the study of communist theory needs literary, but more important is that a communist must have the ability to criticize old things and change communist ideology into active practice. A person can possess this ability only when he has sufficient knowledge. It is precisely in this sense that Lenin said: "You can become a communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind." He said: "We have no need of cramming but we do need to develop and perfect the mind of every student with a knowledge of fundamental facts. Communism will become an empty word, a mere signboard, and a communist a mere boaster,

if all the knowledge he has acquired is not digested in his mind." "If a communist took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the cut-and-dried conclusions he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work and without understanding facts he should examine critically, he would be a deplorable communist indeed." Thus, it can be seen that the requirement in the field of cultural knowledge for a real communist is not lower but higher than for ordinary people. As for a society, it is similar. If we want to widely build up communist ideology and moral standards, we must energetically raise the cultural and scientific level of the whole nation. To achieve this, we must do a good job in education and popularize it. This is a basic undertaking for cultural development and an important condition for ideological building. The first thing we should do well is the education for the younger generation. The party Central Committee and the State Council have decided: Universal primary education in various forms must in the main be achieved by 1990 and, in areas where the economy and education are more developed, this should be done earlier. We must strive to achieve the objective and ensure our younger generation's healthy development of morality, intelligence and physical culture so that they can avoid the suffering of people without knowledge. This is "capital construction" in cultivating a new generation of communists. So, it is of vital importance. In addition, it is also necessary to energetically conduct social education and eliminate illiteracy in vast areas. Many people, though entering schools in the period of the 10 years of turmoil, are now still semi-illiterate and need to make up missed lessons. If we cannot properly handle this work in time, our work in the building of both material and spiritual civilization will meet with enormous difficulties. The number of existing television universities, correspondence schools and workers' sparetime schools is far from meeting the needs. Because the financial capacity and manpower owned by the state are limited, it is necessary to encourage local people themselves to run schools in various forms and make full use of our social strength. Because we have a large population and our average cultural level is still rather low, only if social education in various forms is widely developed while regular school education is properly handled, can we effectively raise the cultural and scientific level of the whole nation.

Lenin has repeatedly mentioned that the most important thing in setting up communist morality among the masses is to liquidate the mentality and habits shaped in the old society, such as the ideas that "everyone seeks interests for himself and God takes care of everyone" and that "I seek my own profit and don't care a bit for anything else." He said that the essence of communist education is to make people contribute their work and ability to a "public cause," that is, the cause of socialism and communism. What Lenin said here means the same as "serving people heart and soul," which was constantly advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Whether a person serves the people heart and soul or seeks interests for himself heart and soul while serving the people half-heartedly is an evident reflection of whether this person has or has no communist morality and whether this moral standard is high or low. It is precisely guided by this slogan put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong, which shines with communist brilliance, that millions of young people in the new China up into communists in their ordinary work. They should feel no qualms before the older generation of revolutionaries.

It is a pity that following the damage caused by the 10 years of turmoil, this well-known slogan was seldom mentioned, even verbally. What took its place was the saying: Serving oneself whole-heartedly and serving one's lovers and one's small group. Many people only show concern for their private interests and show no concern for other people's well-being, still less for the interests of the state and society. These ideas and deeds not only go against communist morality, but also run counter to our national traditions and virtues. But some people take difficulties in current material life as their excuses and regard the selfish ideas as reasonable. This is incorrect. "Being the first to worry and the last to enjoy himself," and "helping each other in the same boat and going through thick and thin together" constitute our nation's principle in the face of hardship. In a socialist society today, it is more necessary to be united and help each other and to work selflessly for the public interest. Only thus can we effectively surmount the difficulties. If every person only shows concern for himself, the actual result would only be a disaster effected on one another. Thus, difficulties would become more serious. This mentality and the habits of petty proprietors are in fact the hotbed of crimes and a kind of corrosive which saps people's morale and eats away unity, resulting in all noble ideas and deeds gaining no ground and even being mocked. Seriously criticizing this egoist and philistine mentality and energetically give publicity to the noble spirit of serving the people heart and soul should be an important content in the current drive of communist moral education. Only by commending noble ideas and deeds, exposing the hideous features of uncivil and immoral things, analyzing and criticizing all kinds of erroneous ideology and mentality and linking communist ideological education with actual ideological work and struggle, can we achieve a good result in improving social moral standards and make our ideological educational drive more vivid and convincing.

In the above, the two points around communist education are: Attaching importance to education in cultural knowledge and paying attention to linking this education with reality. In my opinion, we should not neglect these two points in conducting communist education and in the whole course of ideological building. Our cultural and scientific workers undoubtedly shoulder a special responsibility in the building of a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and should make more contributions. In order to do a good job in this field, we should not only seriously understand the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, but should also often study the questions concerning the building of spiritual civilization and continuously perfect our theoretical knowledge and consciousness.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### MARCHAIS SPEECH AT FUDAN UNIVERSITY

HK240414 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 82 p 4

["Text" of Speech by Georges Marchais, Secretary General of the French Communist Party, at Fudan University on 21 October]

[Text] Dear Comrades and Friends:

First of all, please allow me, in the name of our delegation, to thank the responsible people of Fudan University for their invitation. We are deeply moved by our warm welcome.

To speak frankly, I feel very excited to speak to you here today. There are at least two reasons for my excitement:

The first reason is that this is the first time in history that a French Communist Party [PCF] secretary general has visited China. I mentioned this immediately after I arrived in your country. Besides, as you can understand, I myself am deeply touched.

The second reason is the fact that my being able to speak before you, this university's teachers and students who speak French, know the French history and are familiar with the French culture, thousands of miles away from Paris, is an indication of the success scored by China on its way forward. It is also a symbol of the long-standing tradition of friendship between the two peoples, which is still developing today. I am very happy about this.

During my present visit, the talks we have held and will continue with CPC leaders and the contacts, including the contact with you today, enable us to know directly the reality of your country.

This is, doubtless, very important to us French communists. The French communists welcomed with enthusiasm and admiration the victory of the Chinese revolution. On 1 October 1949, Secretary General Maurice Thorez stated in the PCF's L'HUMANITE that the founding of the PRC is "a great event with tremendous political significance" to the Chinese people, who have emancipated themselves from the fetters of semicolonization and semifeudalism, as well as to the people of other countries who are struggling against imperialism and colonialism.

Afterward, we followed with interest the efforts made by the Chinese people to shake off poverty and build for the future. Comrade Louis Aragon wrote this in his poem: We "hear the sound of cultural breeze blowing into cities, the steps taken by our long-cherished wish...and the advance of the indomitable Asia."

As I have mentioned before, the news that we would visit China, announced several days before we left France, really aroused hope and satisfaction among the French communists and the French laborers. Our visit here today will enable us to understand better your achievements in building socialism and the problems encountered. We have also paid great attention to your methods of solving the problems. All this, naturally, will enrich our thinking.

Before I answer your questions, please allow me to give an account of the PCF's way of thinking struggle.

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Our action aims at the building of a unique socialism fully corresponding to French history and reality, that is, socialism of the French type. As we said at our 24th Congress held in February, "Socialism will develop in a French fashion, and France will develop in socialism."

We love France today and France tomorrow, combining closely our strategy with the reality of our country. This is not because we are stubbornly seeking something novel or because we are affected by narrow chauvinism.

This is, first of all, because we are members of the PCF. We belong to the French people and live with them, sharing common tests and common hopes. Anything related to the people is our own affair.

This is also related to our struggle in history. In fact, great revolutionary advances in our country are all integrated with the defence of France, its independence and its freedom.

The great French revolution in 1789 abolished the privileges of the nobles and brought new rights to the citizens. Besides, the armed forces of the republic defended the country by smashing the attacks of the counterrevolutionaries stationed in the border areas of our country.

The Paris commune of 1871 was the first attempt in the world to set up a working class state power. Besides, the commune also counterattacked the French bourgeoisie, which betrayed the national interests, and foreign invasion.

In the 62 years since the founding of our party, it has always been a successor to these revolutionary and national struggles. Our party has spared no effort to safeguard our country's interests and to fight for social and democratic progress from our persistent struggle against colonialism to the movement of enthusiastic resistance against the Nazis, and from opposing Hitler's demand and the capitulationist agreement of Munich in 1938 to our participation in the French Government in 1945.

Today, we are still working hard to continue this struggle and call on people to build a new society in France according to present-day conditions, that is, socialism of the French type.

The serious problems we are faced with today can only be solved by means of this deep social reform.

Of course, these problems are different from those that you met with before the victory of the revolution in your country. This is because the history, civilization and development of your country are different from those of ours. France is a developed and highly industrialized country. I said at our party's 24th Congress: "We are not living in a France as described in 'Les Miserable' or in 'Embryo,' nor are we living in a Third World country. We are living in a France at the end of the 20th century."

Within 20 to 30 years, that is, within a generation's time, important changes have taken place in France in production, productivity, consumption, education, living labor conditions and other areas. All this has turned France into a big modern power. But these changes have occurred within the framework of capitalism. The law of profit has restricted and distorted these changes and even brought about adverse results. Today, it has become more and more clear that the capitalist system is unable to solve the most acute problems appearing in social development nor satisfy the new demands. French society is undergoing a profound structural crisis.

It cannot be denied that the living standard in France is high, but there exists extremely big inequality. A tiny minority of the privileged possesses an overwhelming portion of wealth. The maximum gap in income is more than 1 to 100. There are 23 million employed people, and among the 17.5 million wage-earners, 2 million men, women and youths are unemployed. Many poor families are in difficulty and have to live frugally and make personal sacrifices.

Therefore, to solve the problems our country has encountered, it is of primary importance to establish a society of justice and let all men and women have jobs and decent wages and enjoy the benefits and comfortable life created by the present-day progress. These can be achieved in a modern country.

Our country has great economic potential. Our country is rich in energy resources, has a complete industry with numerous sectors and is famous for its agriculture. The labor force in our country is highly capable. This includes the workers, technicians, staff, engineers and cadres who have rich experience. Many of these people are trained by well-known schools and universities. But the capitalists today are ruining our economy sector by sector, closing down enterprises and discharging workers. They are using scientific and technological achievements not to lessen the stupendous labor of the men and women workers, but to exploit them to excess. The capitalist pay no heed to the training of workers. Instead, they employ workers without special skill to do monotonous and sickening work.

In order to solve the problems our country has encountered, it is necessary to set up a society in which the economy serves the people and not the opposite. In this society, large-scale production and exchange of materials will belong to the whole society, and the society will adopt a new type of growth format.

I have just mentioned that our country grew out of the centuries-old struggle for freedom and democracy. But the capitalists today put together all the policymaking organs and place them out of the reach of the citizens. They attempt to keep them in absolute right in enterprises, reducing the laborers to being mere pawns to be disposed of at their will. It seems as if the laborers today should still allow their bosses to make arbitrary decisions and take peremptory actions at sites of labor.

In order to solve the problems our country has encountered, it is essential to set up a society in which all achievements of freedom in France are guaranteed, deepened and ensured of new progress. In this society, both laborers and citizens will enjoy the democracy of airing their views and determine the development of the society. They should also determine the speed and ways of social development.

Our country has a rich and varied culture, and is well-known to the world. The names of Moliere, Delacroix, Desartes and Bizet as well as the builder of the big cathedral and Pierre Curie are known to everybody. The universities and ordinary secondary schools in our country have a high level of education. But the rule of the bourgeoisie has turned the schools into means of practicing social segregation and a filtering device for eliminating children of ordinary families or for preventing them from receiving appropriate training or for preventing them from receiving appropriate training for from using what they have learned. This way of ruling has turned France into a country in which people seldom read books, American goods are sold everywhere and cultural progress is confined to a very limited number of people.

In order to solve the problems our country has encountered, it is necessary to set up a society in which new arrangements between work hours and spare time will make culture become wealthy shared by all, schools will give everybody (man or woman) a sound education so that they will be able to have a real career, new relations between men and men will be set up and violence and discrimination among men will be abolished.

The above-mentioned points are the highlights of the French-type socialism which we call on the French people to build.

You can see that we do not base ourselves on a ready socialist "model" formulated elsewhere with a view to trying to make it "conform" to French conditions and to using it to determine the contents of the new society. We are doing just the opposite. Regarding this point, we pointed out at the PCF Congress: "Socialism can only grow from real social movements and the ripening of social contradictions." Therefore, in doing so, we take into consideration the concrete problems facing French society today. We can see that these problems question the capitalist structure of this society, and they can only be

thoroughly solved with methods put forward by us and only these methods can get to the root cause of the crisis which France is undergoing, that is, the capitalist system itself.

This is the reason why we say: In our country, socialism is put on the order of the day.

This is the reason why we say: Socialism will be a French-type socialism; otherwise, socialism will no longer be socialism.

In order to realize this new society, we have also determined to take a unique road that is in accord with the conditions of our people and our country. This democratic French road is to respect at all times the will expressed by the majority of the people in general elections according to their definite goal and choice, a road of integrating the people's movement and struggle. Following this road, we will extend step by step the domain of the people's movement, defeat the capitalist forces and gradually and continuously solve problems, thus advancing step by step in the course of building socialism.

Of course, we are not at all naive. We are very clear on the fact that the French bourgeoisie will never give up its rights and privileges. History has told us that the bourgeoisie will seize every chance to use violence and coercive measures against the people's movement. We do not cherish illusions. Existing facts have also proved to us that our country will advance toward the new society amid acute class struggle. Our entire strategy is precisely to bring about, by democratic means, such a balance of social forces that the bourgeoisie will not be able to use violence.

In view of all these strategic decisions, we decided, after 34 years, to participate in the government for the second time in the history of our party and to participate in the majority leading state affairs. Following the victories of the leftwingers to which we have made full contributions, we must strive with great efforts to meet the demands of the French people within the sphere of the balance of forces manifested in the general election, make use of all conditions available and courageously advance along the road to democratic reforms needed by the people of our country.

Since we have joined the new majority, we have made some social and democratic achievements. Nationalized public departments have been extended and new rights will be given to laborers of enterprises. In order to develop national production with great efforts and to increase employment, we have decided to call on laborers of each enterprise and city to take action in opposing perverse acts of the bourgeoisie, exposing the outflow of capital and financial speculation, developing the productive forces of our country and, at the same time, waging effective struggle for the right of receiving professional training.

The rightwing forces and the financial circles are resisting this move and are trying hard to undermine the implementation of this new policy or to change it in order to defend their privileges. We do feel surprised at this class resistance. You can believe that the PCF is determined to help the laborers

to give play to all their strength in order to maintain the fixed policy, to smash the plot of the financial forces and to smoothly implement the policy chosen by the French people.

\* \* \*

Dear Comrades and Friends:

As I said at the 24th PCF Congress, this strategy has been formulated in accordance with the reality in France and has fully taken into account the reality and changes of the present world.

In this respect, we greatly treasure the uniqueness of the strategy and treasure our party's complete independence and freedom to act, but this does not make our party overlook our international duties in the least. On the contrary, since we independently make our own political decisions in every aspect, we can express even better our enthusiastic support to various forces of any country in their struggle for peace, freedom, independence and socialism.

In doing so, we remain loyal to the finest traditions of our working class and our party. Through numerous struggle against colonialism and imperialism for many, many years, the people of our country have come to the conviction that the interests of the French laborers and that of the oppressed people are identical.

Of course, ruling communist parties in various countries are among these forces, and they are helping their people in building socialism.

We know that owing to the complexity and arduous efforts needed in building socialism, it is undoubtedly the most magnificent and unprecedented human undertaking to build socialism. As far as we are concerned, we have to strive to maintain a clear view toward various experiences acquired by different countries which are advancing along this road as well as the contributions they have made and the limits of these experiences at present.

We hold that since these countries, first of all, have to put an end to legacies left behind by feudalism, capitalism and colonialism and since imperialists threw obstacles in their way in the past and are still doing so at present, the people of countries which are building socialism have completed, in the main, their important undertaking under difficult conditions. What we have seen in your country since coming here has also proved this. Advancing along the socialist road, China has made tremendous achievements in fighting starvation, chronic diseases, poverty and human degradation and in other areas. However, these disasters are still tragic realities existing daily in many developing countries. Nevertheless, your achievements in these areas have been made in a country with 1 billion people, accounting for one-fourth of the world's population.

In assessing the contributions made by countries which are building socialism, we also take in consideration their role in the world. Together with all

forces of peace, they have made contributions by using their strength and influence to safeguard world peace and to oppose imperialist nuclear warmongers. They are a support to the people in various countries who are fighting for national liberation and freedom.

What we have seen in China also shows that socialism is varied in form and full of vitality. All countries that are building socialism--at present socialism is being built in all continents--have encountered some new problems and have to meet unheard of challenges, soberly evaluate their achievements and failure, correct their mistakes and seek solutions correspondent with their stand. Such a way of developing socialism is not an erring action at all, but is rich and colorful. It is helpful to our thinking and will fully demonstrate the idea I have just mentioned--the people of each country should seek their own road to socialism.

Therefore, we hold that there cannot be a "model" of socialism, nor can there be a "center" or "guiding party" in the world for the revolutionary movement which aims at winning socialism.

On the contrary, we, in accordance with the development of the world, are striving for the realization of a new internationalism and express support for all communist parties. In a broader sense, we attach great importance to increasing our support and cooperation with all forces in the world which are struggling for liberation, for shaking off the colonial fetters over their countries, for shaking off the pressure of imperialism and for setting up a new political and economic order in the world. We will turn all possibilities of uniting various forces into reality in order to carry out struggle centering round an objective which is in the interests of the people of various countries, in particular, around peace and disarmament.

Therefore, you can see that indispensable class support which unites all communists in the world, must not be confused with certain demands for unconditional support. We are not worried that there exist various views on this or that issue, or even differences among communist parties of various countries. On the contrary, we will have discussions frankly and calmly and will by no means let this deter our joint action.

Our view on relations between communist parties coincides with that of the CPC. We all know that we have different positions on certain questions between us. With regard to this, we should conduct discussions in a friendly and frank atmosphere--we acted exactly in this way in previous talks we held--and should not let this affect the wishes of our two parties to strengthen cooperation for the common, great goal.

Dear Comrades and Friends:

We have been in the PRC for 8 days. We have visited Beijing, Xian, Yichang and Shanghai and have covered 2,5000 kilometers. Today, we are here with you in Fudan University. Although we will continue our visit in other places in the coming few days, we have already seen much about China. We have seen the achievements made by the Chinese people and the wealth of China's vicilization.

All this has made an impression on me. In concluding my speech, I would like to tell you this impression: There are too many French men and women who do not fully understand China's conditions, changes taking place in China and achievements and problems you encountered in building socialism. I hope that the present visit of our delegation will promote cooperation between our two countries and two peoples and strengthen intercoursés in various fields in order to increase mutual understanding and strengthen the traditional friendship between the French people and the Chinese people.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### (ZHENG KEYUAN) ARTICLE ON PARTY CONSOLIDATION

OW151118 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 14 Oct 82

[Article by (Zheng Keyuan): "We Must Do a Better Job in Consolidating the Party"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in his report to the 12th Party Congress: To achieve a fundamental turn for the better in the style of our party, the Central Committee has decided on an overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations, which will proceed by stages and by groups over a period of 3 years beginning the latter half of 1983.

This is an important policy decision to build our party into a staunch force at the core capable of leading the cause of socialist modernization and a major task concerning whether the accomplishment of the great goals set by the 12th Party Congress will have a reliable political and organizational guarantee.

The key link in this overall rectification of party style and consolidation of party organizations is to enhance the political qualities of party members and cadres in general by conducting thoroughgoing ideological education throughout the party. In matters of organization and leadership, it is necessary to consolidate the leading bodies at all levels and further normalize inner-party political life. There will also be a re-registration of party members and, in accordance with the provisions of the new party constitution, those who still fail to meet the membership requirements after education shall be expelled from the party or asked to withdraw from it.

Some comrades are in favor of this kind of party consolidation, but worry that it will lead to the political movements of the past which were guided by left ideas. The worry of these comrades is not entirely groundless. However, it is not difficult to overcome such worries as long as we positively draw lessons from past experience and carefully analyze the difference between the present and past situation.

First, through several years of resolute and comprehensive efforts to set things right, our party has reaffirmed a Marxist ideological political and organizational line. The party's line opposes both left and right deviations and has increasingly proved its correctness through practice. In the

circumstances, if someone should take the opportunity presented by party consolidation to alter the party's work focus which has been shifted to economic construction and to repeat the left mistakes, the party and the masses would not let them.

Second, in the party consolidation, we will solve the problem of impurities in ideology, style and organization that indeed exist in the party. The goal is to consolidate and build the party to make it better. It is certainly not permissible to throw the party into disorder and destroy it.

Third, in the proposed consolidation of the party, the Central Committee has made it clear that the key link is to conduct a thoroughgoing ideological education throughout the party to arouse the consciousness of comrades within the party in striving to become qualified party members and cadres for the new period. At the same time, there will be earnest criticism and self-criticism in the spirit of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." This in itself is fundamentally different from the past practice of "speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters" and of confounding right and wrong at will, confusing friend with foe, striking people down to the dust and never allowing them to stand up again.

This overall rectification of party style should be carried out with proper preparations and in a planned way under the leadership of party committees at various levels. It is not permissible to kick aside the party committees to make revolution or to engage in any factionalist activities. In the course of work, appropriate measures should be taken to heed the opinions of the masses, but in no way is it permissible to obliterate the line of demarcation between what is inside the party and what is outside the party and to solve the inner-party contradictions by means of the so-called might of the mass movement. In case some error is made in a locality or a unity, it is entirely possible to correct it under party leadership. Certain individuals have problems of one kind or another but refuse to examine themselves and correct their problems in a serious manner. On the contrary, they distort the fundamental spirit of the CPC Central Committee regarding this party style rectification and spread such slogans as "another political movement will be launched" and "the leftist thing will be put into practice again." This is a grave mistake, which cannot shake our determination to conduct the overall rectification of party style.

From now on until the latter half of next year when the rectification of party style begins, we must make good preparations in all aspects. The key tasks are to organize all party members and cadres to concentrate on the study of the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, to enhance their understanding of our party's ultimate goal and work program, strategic steps, principles and policies for the new period, to raise their awareness of communist ideology, sense of organization and discipline and to increase their confidence in socialist modernization so that they will put rigorous demands on themselves according to the criteria for communist vanguard fighters and take the initiative to find and correct their mistakes, if any. Meanwhile, in conjunction with the specific work set by the resolutions of the 12th CPC National Congress,

especially improvement of the party's system of democratic centralism, reform of the leading bodies and the cadre system, adjustment of the leading groups and dealing blows at the serious crimes in the economic and other fields, conscientious efforts should be made to solve the problems about which the masses have the most complaints and to eliminate the unhealthy trends which are conspicuous in various localities. If we do not solve the problems which should be solved now leaving them for the future on the grounds that an overall rectification of party style will be carried out later, our great task will suffer. Anyone who only pays lipservice to support the party style rectification but makes every effort to evade the problems before him and turns a blind eye to the unhealthy trends that harm the interests of the party and the people cannot be regarded as a genuine supporter of party style rectification.

It follows that all party organizations, party members and cadres should take immediate action and set an example in making good, solid preparatory work at their respective levels. In this way, our party will have the utmost certainty of success in making the overall rectification of our ideology, organization and work style and in bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in our party style.

CSO: 4005/88

**PARTY AND STATE**

**BEIJING DESIGNATES MONTH FOR BUILDING CIVILIZATION**

OW190835 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 18 Oct 82

[Text] According to the Beijing People's Broadcasting Station, at a meeting held today, the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and the municipal government have designated the period from 20 October to 20 November as a month in which people throughout Beijing will be mobilized to build a socialist spiritual civilization and launch activities concerning the "five stresses" and "four beauties."

The meeting called on the people throughout Beijing to continue to wipe out filth, disorderliness and poor service and continue to deepen "five stresses" and "four beauties" so that the building of a spiritual civilization in the capital will be more penetrating and widespread and still greater success will be achieved in this regard.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANXI CONTINUES 'FIVE STRESSES, FOUR BEAUTIES' CAMPAIGN

OW060951 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0010 GMT 5 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Taiyuan, 5 Oct (XINHUA)—The Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee has decided to mobilize cadres and people in Shanxi's urban and rural areas to study well the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and to continue "five stresses and four beauties" activities in a thorough and sustained manner in October, with emphasis on general elimination of filthiness, messiness and backwardness.

At a recent standing committee meeting, the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee decided: In the course of the "five stresses and four beauties" activities in October, the party committees of all prefectures, municipalities and counties should first seriously study the guidelines of the 12th CPC National Congress and use them to guide their activities.

The Provincial Party Committee called on all prefectures, municipalities and counties to sum up their experience of the "civility and courtesy month" activities unfolded since March and to conduct a general inspection of the implementation of "civility rules" and "written pledges up by rural and urban residents."

The Provincial Party Committee demanded: During the "five stresses and four beauties" activities in October, urban areas should set the pace for rural areas. Taiyuan, Datong, Changzhi and Yangquan municipalities and county-level municipalities should first set an example. In order to improve urban appearance and sanitation, we should pay attention not only to the main streets, but also to small alleys, residential compounds and collective dormitories in order not to leave a blind spot.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### BEIJING EDUCATION AGAINST BOURGEOIS INFLUENCE

OW071319 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0045 GMT 7 Oct 82

[Excerpts] Beijing, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--From August to the middle of September this year, the Beijing, Municipal CPC Committee carried out education in opposing the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology and upholding communist ideology among the communists in Beijing. The education was carried out together with the struggle against grave criminal offenses in the economic sphere. During the one and a half months, some 580,000 party members, accounting for 90 percent of total party members in Beijing, were trained rotationally. The education yielded good results in improving party style and strengthening the party's ideological building.

The education in opposing the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideology carried out by the Beijing Municipal Party Committee and the following salient features:

1. Leading cadres took the lead in teaching party lessons to party members. According to incomplete statistics, some 5,600 leading cadres, including standing committee members of the Municipal Party Committee and leading cadres at all levels of grassroots party committee, taught party lessons.
2. The education emphasized the need for communists to foster and uphold the communist world outlook, oppose bourgeois individualism, fundamentally raise political consciousness and build an ideological wall to guard against the corrosive influence.
3. The education was lively carried out in various forms, citing a large number of positive and negative examples.
4. Serious criticism and self-criticism were carried out in the spirit of the rectification movement.

At present, the Beijing Municipal CPC Committee is preparing to begin another round of rotational training for party members in Beijing in January 1983. It will organize the party members to thoroughly and systematically study the new party constitution and carry out education in how to be a qualified communist in order to be well-prepared for the forthcoming overall rectification of party style.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'SHANXI RIBAO' ON SHANXI PARTY RECTIFICATION FORUM

HK131351 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 82 p 1

[Report by Shan Guizhen [0830 2710 3791]: "Provincial Forum on Rectifying Grassroots Party Organizations Points Out That the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress Must Be Applied to Rectify These Organizations"]

[Text] In the recently held provincial forum on rectifying grassroots party organization, it was emphatically pointed out: It is necessary to make a success of rectifying the grassroots party organizations and to have planning and leadership in putting forward the wholesale rectification of the industrial enterprises; in the rural areas and on other fronts, it is necessary to emphatically grasp well the rectification of the grassroots party organizations in which there are many serious problems, promote the quality and quantity of the party members, strengthen the combat strength of our party and strive to fully achieve the various combat missions determined by the 12th CPC National Congress.

This forum was convened by the organization department of the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee in Taiyuan. The responsible comrades of the various offices and bureaus of the Provincial People's Government, the organization departments of the Municipal and Prefectural Party Committees and the work teams of part of the counties, factories, mines and enterprises took part in the forum.

On the basis of exchanges of information and interflow of experience, the comrades who took part in the forum had analyzed the condition of grassroots party organization and party members in our province. It was held: In recent years, the party committees at all levels paid more attention to rectifying the grassroots party organizations. There have been great changes in the condition of the grassroots party organizations and the party members. Generally speaking, these changes are good in most cases. But, since the party was seriously undermined by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the party ranks were influenced and corrupted by the decadent ideology of capitalism and the remains of feudal ideology, in addition, since the process of putting the economic responsibility system and the agricultural production responsibility system into practice, the party's political and ideological work have not kept pace with them, therefore, in some of our grassroots party organizations and among some party members, there are the serious problems of ideological, political and organizational impurity, failure to separate party work from government work, failure of the party to pay attention to its own affairs and

weak political and ideological work. Some grassroots party organizations are at a standstill or almost at a standstill. All these things seriously weaken the party's combat strength and hinder the smooth implementation of the construction of the four modernizations. Thus, it is extremely necessary to rectify the grassroots party organizations.

There are grassroots party organizations in the industrial enterprises, rural areas and on other fronts in which there are many serious problems. The forum made arrangements in all fields for the rectification of these organizations. It was pointed out: In the wholesale rectification of the industrial enterprises, it is necessary to place the rectification of the grassroots party organizations in an important position. It is necessary to grasp the rectification of the grassroots party organizations and other rectifications all together. It is necessary to adhere to putting ideological rectification first and making the rectification of the leading ranks the focus. It is necessary to grasp ideological education as the central link in the party's rectification. Promoting communist ideological consciousness and making a success of ideological rectification are the foundation of the successful rectification of the grassroots party organizations and the root of the strengthening of party building. Grasping well the rectification of the leading ranks is the key to this rectification movement. We must work seriously to overcome slackness and inertia, put into practice the division of labor in party and government to its internal affairs and promote the party's combat strength through rectification.

It was pointed out in the forum: Promotion of education must be emphasized in this rectification, and we must also carry out the necessary organization management. But we should be careful in handling people. It is necessary to deal with each case on its merits, according to the nature of the errors made, the seriousness of the case, the attitude and the past performance of the comrade in question. In handling treatment, emphasis must be laid on "the three kinds of people, those who oppose the line followed by the party's Central Committee since its 3d plenary session, those who have seriously violated the party's principles of political life and those who have committed serious economic offenses. It is necessary to firmly remove these people from leading posts. We must clear from the party those people not qualified for membership. As to the problem of grassroots cadre work, the main thing is to summarize experience and lessons, distinguish clearly between right and wrong and promote understanding. As for those party members who have a long time not taken part in organization life, who are negative and backward and do not fulfill a positive function, it is necessary to strengthen education and assistance so that they will increase their understanding and strive to be qualified members of the CPC.

The comrades who took part in the forum held that as long as the party committees at all levels take these matters seriously, put them on their schedule, conscientiously strengthen their leadership and use the new party constitution as a powerful weapon in rectifying grassroots party organization, then this rectification is certain to be success.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANXI PREFECTURE URGES TO STUDY CONGRESS SPIRIT

HK250954 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 82 p 1

[Report: "When Inspecting Work in Jinzhong Prefecture, Comrade Luo Guibo Points Out That It Is Necessary to Establish Two Firm Beliefs, Unify Thinking, Continue to Advance, and Integrate the Spirit of the 12th Party Congress With the Reality of Shanxi"]

[Text] Recently Comrade Luo Guibo, second secretary of the Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee and provincial governor, went on a trip to inspect the work in Jinzhong prefecture. In talking about how to better study and implement the spirit of the documents of the 12th Party Congress, he stressed: We must integrate the spirit of the 12th Party Congress with the reality of Shanxi an ideologically establish two firm beliefs before we can relatively deeply and correctly understand the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents, truly and completely keep in pace politically with the CPC Central Committee and persistently advance along the course charted by the 12th Party Congress.

From 25-30 September, Comrade Luo Guibo successively visited rural areas, factories, schools and hospitals in Jinzhong prefecture's Qixian, Yuci and Shouyang counties and Yuci Municipality. There he acquainted himself with the situation of how party members, cadres and the masses studied and implemented the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, and listened to reports by responsible comrades of the Jinzhong Prefectural CPC Committee. During his inspection tour, he expressed his views on how to study and implement the 12th Party Congress documents. Comrade Luo Guibo said: Leaders at all levels must regard the study of documents of the 12th Party Congress as a matter of first importance and grasp it firmly as such, take the lead in studying the documents well and strive to understand them thoroughly. They must not carry out the study perfunctorily or superficially and must not be slack toward the end while grasping firmly only at the beginning. They must integrate the spirit of the 12th Party Congress with the reality of Ahsnxi. At present the most essential thing in the reality of Jinzhong and of the whole province is to further settle the question of whether we firmly believe the complete correctness of the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session and whether we firmly believe the complete correctness of the leadership of the CPC Central Committee. The 12th Party Congress fully affirmed and further developed the complete correctness of the line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session. This is very

important. Viewed from the practice of our province, it is precisely because we have resolutely implemented the line, principles and policies of the third plenary session and have done a lot of work in bringing order out of chaos, distinguishing right from wrong and correcting leftist mistakes that a great change for the better in our economic situation has taken place and a political situation of stability and unity exists today. Practice has amply proved that only if we firmly believe the complete correctness of the party's line, principles and policies formulated since the third plenary session and the complete correctness of the leadership of the CPC Central Committee and ideologically and politically keep pace with the Central Committee can we make progress in our work, score one victory after another, and triumphantly fulfill the strategic task of opening up new prospects in all fields of socialist modernization put forward by the 12th Party Congress. Most of the cadres in Jinzhong Prefecture have settled the question mentioned above but we must also see that a small number of comrades have not yet completely settled it. Therefore, we must further straighten out our ideological line through studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, follow closely the strategic plans of the CPC Central Committee and unify our thoughts on the basis of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress.

In talking about how to open up new prospects in all fields in socialist modernization and how to quadruple the total industrial and agricultural output value, Comrade Luo Guibo said: Shanxi has great potential in quadrupling the total output value. This is particularly because Shanxi is rich in mineral deposits. Our province enjoys exceptional advantages in having a lot of coal. So long as we fully utilize this advantage and develop coal production with great effort and strive to do a good job in its comprehensive utilization, the total industrial output value of our province will increase by 100 or 200 percent and we will then be able to make greater contributions to the country's economic construction. We also have much potential in agriculture. We still have much arable land. At present, only several hundred jin of grain are yielded in each mu of land and output can further be raised by a big margin. At present, rural specialized household and key households are developing vigorously in Jinzhong Prefecture and throughout the whole province and diversified management has a very bright future. Mountainous districts account for a vast area in Jinzhong Prefecture as well as in the province. Besides mining, we can also extensively plant trees and grass, develop with great effort animal husbandry as well as the processing industry. We must seriously carry out investigations, work out feasible plans, do our work earnestly and solidly, give play to our subjective initiative and fight with effort for the realization of the magnificent goal set by the 12th Party Congress.

In talking about the work of Jinzhong Prefecture, Comrade Luo Guibo said: I have visited four counties and one municipality and talked with some cadres and people. They all said that your meeting held at Shouyang was very good because it has further emancipated the minds, raised the consciousness in implementing the party's line, principles and policies and enhanced the improvement of the responsibility system which has links with production and the development of specialized and key households. I hope that comrades in Jinzhong Prefecture will further emancipate their minds in the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, further relax the policies and push various kinds of work in the rural areas to a new stage.

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI CPC, CPPCC HOLD MEETING ON CONGRESS SPIRIT

HK010220 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 23 Sep 82

[Text] Yesterday afternoon the United Front Work Department of the Provincial CPC Committee and Provincial CPPCC held a joint meeting. Li Feng, delegate to the 12th CPC Congress, member of the standing committee of the Provincial CPC Committee and executive secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, relayed the spirit of the 12th CPC Congress to personalities of various circles outside the party. The meeting was presided over by Yin Zhe, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and chairman of the Provincial CPPCC. About 1,400 persons attended the meeting, including members of the Provincial and Municipal CPPCC in the provincial capital, responsible persons and members of various democratic parties, nonparty senior intellectuals and well-known personages of various circles. In accordance with the program formulated by the propaganda department of the CPC Committee for propagating the 12th CPC Congress and his own personal experience in attending the congress, Comrade Li Feng talked about the grand occasion of the 12th CPC Congress, relayed the spirit of the speeches delivered by leading comrades of the CPC Central Committee and recounted his thoughts on studying the 12th CPC Congress documents and the significance of the congress. Comrade Li Feng's speech was well received by all meeting participants. At the meeting, Comrade Yin Zhe hoped that all participants would conscientiously study the 12th CPC Congress documents, closely rally around the CPC Committee and make contributions to attaining the magnificent goals of the 12th CPC Congress by creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI HOLDS MEETING ON CONGRESS, PROPAGANDA WORK

HK051450 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Excerpts] On the afternoon of 27 September, the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and the propaganda department of the Provincial CPC Committee jointly held a meeting of party member cadres, at which Comrade Zhao Yimin, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and a representative to the 12th Party Congress, relayed to all party member cadres in the organizations of the Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee and the propaganda organizations directly under the Provincial CPC Committee the successful grand congress and the important speeches of central leaders.

Qi Bing, deputy director of the propaganda department of the Provincial CPC Committee, presided over and spoke at the meeting.

In his speech, he stressed the following points in light of the conditions related to propaganda work in our province: 1) We should conscientiously read the documents and deeply understand the basic spirit of the documents and deeply understand the basic spirit of the documents. 2) The study of the documents should be done in combination with our practice. 3) We should conscientiously do a good job of studying and publicizing the 12th Congress documents.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI GET-TOGETHER MARKS CONGRESS, NATIONAL DAY

HK051416 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 28 Sep 82

[Excerpt] Yesterday afternoon the Provincial CPPCC Committee and the United Front Work Department of the Provincial CPC Committee jointly held a get-together to celebrate the successful conclusion of the 12th Congress and the coming national day and mid-autumn festival. Yin Zhe, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and chairman of the Provincial CPPCC Committee, presided over and spoke at the get-together.

He said that our get-together day was of special significance for it celebrated the coming national day and the coming mid-autumn festival as well as the successful conclusion of the 12th Party Congress. This could be called a celebration of three happy occasions. He hoped that all the members of the CPPCC and the personalities in all fields should act in accordance with the requirements of the CPC Central Committee and the Provincial CPC Committee and regard the study of the 12th Congress documents as a task of first priority. He said that we should adhere, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, to the party's policy of coexisting for a long time, supervising one another, showing utter devotion to one another and sharing weal and woe, continuing to implement the party's various policies related to the United Front Work, giving play to the positive factors in all circles and dedicating our strength to the four modernizations and the realization of the great cause of the reunification of the motherland.

Amid enthusiastic applause, (Liu Binyan) Provincial CPC Committee secretary and acting governor, gave a speech that was full of emotion. After giving a brief account of the new situation on the various fronts in our province and the province's long-term program of quadrupling annual industrial and agricultural output value in the next 20 years, he said that we have adequate reasons to say and we are fully confident that we will be able to achieve this goal. In order to fulfill this task, we should continue to consolidate and develop the patriotic united front in our province.

Comrade (Liu Binyan) put forward the following three suggestions: 1) He requested the comrades to supervise the work of the provincial government and give their criticism and suggestions in a timely manner. 2) He hoped that the comrades would have the magnitude of statesmen in enduring humiliation in order to carry out their important missions, and strive with one heart and one mind

to overcome various difficulties. 3) All comrades should make allowances for, show utter devotion to and share weal and woe with one another.

In conclusion, he wished that all the comrades would, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Congress, unite as one, work hard and steadily with one heart and one mind and make new contributions to continuously scoring new achievements in creating a new situation in United Front Work and the socialist modernization of our province.

Attending the get-together were NPC deputies, National CPPCC Committee members, deputies to the Provincial People's Congress and members of the Provincial CPPCC Committee who were in the capital. Also attending were responsible persons of the provincial organizations of various democratic parties and various mass bodies.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI DEPARTMENT URGES CONGRESS DOCUMENTS STUDY

HK071128 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 30 Sep 82

[Excerpts] The propaganda department of the Hebei Provincial CPC Committee held a meeting the evening of 29 September, calling on all localities in the province and all units at the provincial level to seriously study and implement the guidelines set forth by the meeting called by the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee on 27 September, to organize study and propaganda of the guidelines issued by the 12th CPC National Congress and, in light of the realities in various localities and units, to publicize the development of socialist spiritual civilization in October to make it known to all families, so that the five stresses and four beauties activities can be carried out in greater depth.

Responsible comrades of the units concerned in Shijiazhuang Prefecture and municipality and at the provincial level attended the meeting. In the spirit of study carried out by the working conference of the Provincial CPC Committee secretaries, Yin Zhe, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, talked about the way to implement the guidelines set forth by the meeting called by the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee.

After reviewing the results scored since the all-people civility and courtesy month activities were initiated in March this year and the problems discovered in these activities, the meeting set forth the following five demands on all localities in the province:

1. In line with the requirements put forth by the meeting held by the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee, efforts should be made in October, as in the civility and courtesy month activities carried out in March, to extensively carry out activities of solving problems regarding sanitation, disorder and poor service and to turn these activities into concrete actions to implement the guidelines of the 12th CPC Congress.
2. In the spirit of the relevant documents of the CPC Central Committee and in accordance with the plan drawn by the Provincial CPC Committee, all localities, departments and trades should organize vast numbers of cadres, especially the leading cadres at and above the county level, to diligently study the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, particularly the positions on building a highly developed socialist civilization, and to have a good grasp of the great

significance of intensively developing socialist civilization, so as to carry out the five stresses and four beauties activities more extensively, more deeply and more realistically throughout the province.

3. All localities and units should reexamine the regulations, rules and written pledges formulated during the five stresses and four beauties activities some time ago.

4. All party members and CYL members should play an exemplary role in these activities, discover their shortcomings in light of the requirements laid down in the new party constitution and see whether their words and deeds are compatible with the provisions of the party constitution.

5. Party committees at all levels should strengthen leadership over these activities and, in the spirit of the meeting held by the propaganda department of the CPC Central Committee and in light of local conditions, strive to make concrete arrangements for carrying out these activities.

In conclusion, the meeting pointed out: Around February next year, the Provincial CPC Committee will call a meeting to exchange experience in developing spiritual civilization. From now on, all localities and units should pay attention to discovering and fostering typical cases, summing up experiences and making necessary preparations.

Responsible comrades of the Shijiazhuang Municipal CPC Committee, the Hebei Provincial CYL Committee, the provincial public health department and the provincial commercial department spoke at the meeting.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI'S LEADERS CONVEY 12TH CONGRESS SPIRIT

HK071427 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 2 Oct 82

[Text] According to the leading comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government who attended the 12th National Party Congress have called meetings of various forms to brief the vast numbers of party members and cadres on the grand occasion of the 12th National Party Congress and to convey and explain the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress. They stressed: At present, we must regard studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress as a matter of prime importance. We must call on people throughout the province to advance along the course charted by the 12th National Party Congress and exert themselves in the struggle for comprehensively opening up new prospects for promoting socialist modernization in our province.

Following the successful conclusion of the 12th National Party Congress, Gao Yang, delegate to the 12th National Party Congress and first secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, went to Baoding Prefecture's Yi and Ding counties and Baoding Municipality to study with local cadres the adoption of measures for studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress and for implementing the spirit of the congress.

During a recent meeting of members of leading party groups from provincial organs, offices, committees, departments and bureaus which was held by the Provincial CPC Committee, Liu Bingyan, delegate to the 12th National Party Congress, secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee and acting governor and Zhang Shuguang, executive secretary of the Provincial CPC Committee, conveyed the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress and the important speeches of leading comrades of the central authorities. At the same time, they took further steps to plan out the whole province's work of studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress. They stressed once again: Party committees and leading cadres at all levels must take the lead in studying and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress and play an exemplary role in implementing the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress. We must call on the vast numbers of party members and cadres and the broad masses of the people throughout the province to conscientiously study and publicize the documents of the 12th National Party Congress, to apply the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress for deepening their understanding and for seeking unity of thought and action, and to make great efforts to fulfill all the tasks put forward at the 12th National Party Congress.

Conveying and publicizing the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress at various meetings of party members and cadres held by provincial departments, prefectures and municipalities were Wang Zheng, Zhao Yimin, Xie Feng, (Xiong Chongzhi), Wang Kedong, Li Feng, Lu Zhiguo, Hong Yi, Yang Yuan and Han Qimin, delegates to the 12th National Party Congress and leading comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government.

Comrade Li Feng also conveyed the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress to nonparty personnel of various circles in the provincial capital.

Leading comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government who attended the 12th National Party Congress have taken the lead in explaining and publicizing the documents of the 12th National Party Congress and used their personal experiences in attending the congress and in studying the documents of the congress to assist and coach the vast numbers of party members and cadres in grasping the essence of the spirit of the congress, thus promoting the studying of the documents of the congress in provincial units and in all areas.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI COMMENTARY ON STUDYING CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

HK150217 Shijiazhuang Hebei Provincial Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 4 Oct 82

[Station commentary: "Concentrate Our Efforts On and Devote Our Energies to Deeply Grasping the Spiritual Essence of the Documents of the 12th National Party Congress"]

[Text] Under the leadership of party organizations at all levels, the vast numbers of party members and cadres and the broad masses of people throughout the province are enthusiastically studying the documents of the 12th National Party Congress and are implementing the spirit of the party congress. They have already scored gratifying achievements in the study and the implementation. However, we should also see that with the extensive development of activities of studying the documents, some comrades have started thinking that they can take a breathing spell. If we do not overcome the idea of being content with things as they are and the idea of being satisfied with a smattering of a subject, these ideas will certainly affect the uninterrupted deepening of their study. Therefore, we must promptly check these ideas. A very important cause of the emergence of the aforesaid ideas among these comrades is that they have not focused their attention on deeply understanding and grasping the spiritual essence of the documents of the 12th National Party Congress. The documents of the 12th National Party Congress were formulated and adopted after repeated deliberations and studies. They were formulated and adopted after our party had summed up its historical experiences gained over the past 20 years and more since the 8th National Party Congress and particularly its new experiences gained since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The documents are the crystallization of the whole party's collective wisdom. The documents not only fix the grand objectives of struggle and strategic measures for our country's economic building and ideological building but also set new demands on the whole party and people throughout the country. Moreover, with regard to some major theoretical issues, the documents enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The Party Central Committee has called us to do well in deeply studying the documents. This is aimed at merging the thoughts of all party members and people throughout the country into the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress and at enabling all of us to open up new prospects for socialist modernization with one heart and one mind. To achieve this aim, we must

adopt a serious and earnest attitude and do well in studying all the relevant documents. To do well in studying the documents, we must use our brains, assiduously study the documents, strive to comprehensively, systematically and correctly understand and grasp the basic contents and the spiritual essence of the documents, and in close connection with the respective work conditions of our areas and units and in close connection with our personal ideological conditions, apply the documents to solve some problems that can be solved. We must not be content with having a smattering of knowledge.

Studying the documents and implementing the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress are long-term political tasks. They are most important matters confronting the whole party and people throughout the country. In order to merge the thoughts and actions of the vast numbers of party members and the masses into the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress, leaders at all levels and departments concerned must adopt effective measures, pay attention to and overcome the slack mood for study as soon as it occurs, lead everyone to concentrate their efforts on understanding and grasping the spiritual essence of the documents and continuously deepen the study of the documents of the 12th National Party Congress.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'HEBEI RIBAO' ON SENTENCING OF COUNTY CRIMINAL

HK051354 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 82 p 1

[Report by Correspondents Yi Zheng [1438 6927] and Zhang Fazhi [1728 3127 3112]: "Li Changjin, a Notorious Rebel in the Great Cultural Revolution, Is Sentenced to 16 Years' Imprisonment"]

[Text] On 5 September, Li Changjin, a corrupt criminal who was a rebel and a notorious "north despot" of Hejian County, was sentenced to 16 years' imprisonment by the county people's court.

Criminal Li Changjin, aged 44, is from Beishicao brigade of Hejian County. He was famous for "rebellious" in the 10 years of internal disorder and suddenly changed his identity from a deputy brigade leader to a standing member of the poor peasants' representative of Hejian County, a member of the Hejian County Revolutionary Committee, deputy director of the Revolutionary Committee of Beishicao Commune and deputy director of the Revolutionary Committee of Beishicao Brigade. He sneaked into the party in 1971 and became party secretary of the party branch of Beishicao brigade. During his tenure there, he used his power to run wild and commit crimes, wantonly corrupt, embezzle and defraud public funds and property, accept bribes, rape women, beat, scold and ride roughshod over the masses and commit countless crimes. The people call him the "north despot" of Hejian County.

The indictment of the people's procuratorate of Hejian County listed Li Changjin's crimes in corruption and bribery: In 1974, Li Changjin seized the opportunity to purchase chemical fertilizer for the Beishicao brigade and embezzled 1,225 yuan; in 1973, Li Changjin drew 536 yuan from the savings of the 8th Production Brigade of Beishicao, claiming he was going to buy a water pump for them; with the invoice he then applied for reimbursement from the Beishicao brigade and embezzled the whole sum of money; and in 1977, when Beishicao brigade borrowed 3,000 yuan from neighborhood sources, Li Changjin embezzled 2,000 yuan from the loan and put it into his own account. Furthermore, in June 1980, when the prefecture and county were jointly investigating his crimes, he repeatedly reimbursed 1,000 yuan from 4 invoices which had already been issued reimbursement funds and requested the cashier to write a bank note to repay his loan used in water conservancy accounts. In addition, Li Changjin accepted one tael of gold as a bribe and stole and swindled angle iron, wire poles, Korean pine, cement and other

goods. The total sum from his corruption, bribes, stolen and defrauded goods amounted to 7,483 yuan.

The indictment also accused Li Changjin of supporting and plotting the activities of beating, looting and smashing. In 1968, the former secretary of Xinzhuang brigade party branch, Wang Jizeng, and commune member Zhu Yuzing participated in factional activities. Because of a violent fight between the two factions they left their village and lived in Beishicao brigade. Li Changjin, Wang Jizeng and Zhu Yuxing met several times to plot to fight back and return to Xinzhuang brigade. Li Changjin clamorously held that "if we can't go back, we can fight," and threatened that "without fighting, you won't be able to get back." He also said: "If you fight, fight rough, as it will not matter if you break their legs or arms. Provided that nobody is killed, everything will be fine," and claimed that: "We have our backup in the county, and if anything happens I can be responsible." Early on the morning of 21 August 1968, a handful of people with guns, hand grenades and 666 powder poison went to Xinzhuang and caused a riot. Wang Ziheng was beaten and pulverized, Wang Ziran's left leg was broken and his collarbone was dislocated, resulting in lifelong disability. Niu Junru's right leg was fractured, he was bedridden for 6 months and died uncleared of his crime.

The indictment also accused Li Changjin's criminals of raping women and infringing upon people's civil rights. Criminal Li Changjin rebelled in the 10 years of internal disorder and became a ringleader of factionalism and of the "three-level committees." After the downfall of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique, he was still unwilling to correct his "rebellious temper," ignored party discipline and state law, bullied men and seized women and committed all kinds of outrages. If anyone went against the will of this "local emperor," he would then use his "8 warrior attendants" and "14 allies" to exercise his dictatorship over the masses of commune members. Women raped and seduced by Li Changjin suffered a lot. There were among them young girls of 17-18, middle-aged women of 30 and women over 50. This caused women to be in a state of anxiety and some were forced to leave their native place, while others even tried to commit suicide. They were physically and mentally ruined and all severely scolded Li Changjin, saying that he was worse than a dog.

Criminal Li Changjin encroached public property, infringed upon human rights and violated Articles 155, 137, 139 and 160 of "the criminal law," and is guilty many times over. Because some leading cadres shielded him and because Li Changjin were holding power at the time, investigation work encountered many obstacles, causing this case to suffer long delays. On 9 April 1982, the people's procurate of Hejian County accused him, and according to the crimes discovered, the people's court of Hejian County sentenced Li Changjin to 3 years' imprisonment on 22 May. In the face of irrefutable facts, Li Changjin still resorted to all kinds of sophistry and tried by every means to deny and refuse his guilt. He even tried to make a false countercharge and frame the witness. The medium-level people's court of Cangzhou Prefecture received his appeal and made a decision upon the people's court of Hejian County to conduct a retrial. Under the leadership of the prefecture and County CPC Committee, the joint investigation group of the prefecture and county broke through obstructions and continued their investigation. They

not only proved the examined crimes to be real but also discovered new crimes. According to the prosecution of the people's procuratorate of Hejian County, the people's court of Hejian County called the court to order and tried Li Changjin again on 5 September, and issued a new verdict in accordance with law. When the news spread, the broad masses of people cheered and thanked the government "for having eliminated a despot for the people of Hejian County."

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'HEBEI RIBAO' ON ENFORCING PARTY DISCIPLINE

HK050925 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 23 Sep 82 p 1

[Commentator's article: "We Must Strictly Enforce Party Discipline"]

[Text] This newspaper yesterday carried a report on 10 people who plotted, directed and actively participated in a case of disrupting party congress elections in Feixiang County and who were solemnly dealt with and subjected to punishment according to party discipline and administrative discipline respectively. Among these people were Lu Guotai, Li Molin, Zhao Xiangsheng and Wang Haibo. This way of handling the case is entirely correct. This is necessary in tightening party discipline, purifying the party organization and upholding party unity and unification.

Ours is a party directing socialist modernization in a big county with a population of 1 billion and is a major party with 39 million members. Only with strict discipline can we maintain party unity and unification. In defiance of party discipline, Lu Guotai and others resorted to double-dealing, intrigue and conspiracy. In Feixiang County, they secretly acted in collusion during the period of the party congress and used illegal means typical of the "great cultural revolution" to trounce and exclude comrades who adhered to the correct party line. They tried to place themselves in office instead. They thus caused a political case of seriously disrupting elections. This is absolutely impermissible by party discipline.

The disruption of the party congress elections in Feixiang is not an incidental and isolated phenomenon. It shows that we must maintain a high degree of vigilance against the factional forces and careerists representative of the "gang of four." The problem of ideological, work style and organizational impurity in the party organization and among the ranks of cadres, as found in Feixiang, also exists elsewhere in our province. It assumes quite serious proportions in some cases. The "Feixiang incident" has sounded an alarm to us and provided us with a profound lesson. First, we must maintain a high degree of vigilance against the "three types of people" staging a comeback. We must resolutely rid the leading groups of the "three types of people." In the past few years, we have achieved much in carrying out the relevant policy and in getting rid of the "three types of people." But it should also be noted that some areas have not been thorough in the cleanup effort. The "three types

of people" are still occupying leadership posts. This poses a potential threat. Once the time is ripe they will make trouble. Lu Guotai, one of the chief plotters of the "Feixiang incident" and formerly a deputy county magistrate, belongs to the "three types of people." During the early stages of the "cultural revolution," he was a hard-core rebel. He has all along been seriously tainted with factionalist thinking. After becoming a deputy county magistrate, he again wanted to make it into the standing committee of the County CPC Committee. Former deputy secretary of the County CPC Committee Zhao Xiangsheng was a deputy secretary of a commune CPC Committee before the "cultural revolution." After his promotion to deputy secretary of the County CPC Committee, he became more seriously affected with individualism. He was obsessed with a desire for more power and vainly tried to manipulate the elections to win the title of a deputy secretary [as published]. Former deputy county head Li Molin was punished according to party discipline for his abuse of authority to serve his own interests in early 1980. He had harbored a grudge ever since. Wang Haibo, for his part, also had a private grievance against the secretary of the County CCP Committee. These people prompted by their private interests readily mixed with someone like Lu Guotai. Together they abused their authority to make trouble. In his speech at the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Chen Yun said: "None of the 'three types of people'--those who made a start by following Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and company in rebellion during the 'great cultural revolution', those seriously affected with factionalist thinking, and those smashers, grabbers and looters--can be promoted. Those who have been promoted must be resolutely removed from leading groups. In addition, there are two types of people who also cannot be promoted. They are people who oppose the CPC Central Committee's line since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and who commit serious offenses against law and discipline in the economic and other areas." This guidelines must be carried out in its entirety. Otherwise, there may be a repetition of the "Feixiang incident." This can never be treated lightly.

Second, we must seriously try to solve the problem of ideological, work-style and organizational impurity among party members. The damage done to the party's workstyle by the "great cultural revolution" is very serious. The problem of ideological, workstyle and organizational impurity is a common one. It still assumes very serious proportions in some cases. Judging from the problems exposed at the Feixiang elections, some of the representatives participating in the elections were affected with feudal factionalist thinking and sought to attach themselves to the influential. Some suffered from sectarian sentiments and regionalism. Some showed a lack of fundamental knowledge about the party and did not know how to exercise their democratic rights, even allowing others to circle or mark their own votes. Some were seriously affected with liberalism. They refused to resist, expose, and fight against nonorganizational activities which they knew were wrong and allowed such activities to take their course. Lu Guotai and others took advantage of the unhealthy party workstyle to serve their own ends. Facts show that the call for the planned and systematic rectification of the party put forth at the 12th CPC National Party Congress by Comrade Hu Yaobang is entirely correct and is of a very urgent nature.

Third, we must really overcome the state of laxity and weakness in regard to the thinking of the leadership. To overcome "patriarchal" behavior and the

practice of "letting one person lay down the law" as long noted within our party, we must give full play to inner-party democracy and seriously practice democratic centralism. Democracy as advocated by our party is proletarian democracy and is a far cry from bourgeois democracy, let alone anarchism. Lu Guotai, Zhao Xiangsheng, Li Molin, Wang Haibo and others, plotters and staggers of the "Feixiang incident," disrupted the elections and carried out illegal activities under the banner of "democracy." Actually, they were using "democratic elections" as a cloak. They resorted to such means as "putting up big-character posters," "secretly establishing ties," and fabricating charges against others as practiced during the "great cultural revolution." What they advocated was a mix of bourgeois democracy and anarchism. This was a blasphemy against proletarian democracy and a violation of the democratic rights of the masses of party members. However, their kind of bogus democracy deceived many people. They were for a time successful in their plot. This has provided us with a very profound lesson. In party elections, we must of course give full play to democracy and fully respect party members' democratic rights. But such bourgeois practices as soliciting votes and practicing bribery can never be brought to party elections. The practice of anarchism can never be allowed. Party committees at all levels must dare to exercise leadership. They must dare to righteously criticize, repudiate and rectify all nonorganizational activities that run counter to the party's organizational principles.

The "Feixiang incident" is a mirror. It is a profound lesson for us. But it has also enabled us to wake up and raise our vigilance. We must learn from this incident. We must realistically act according to the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress and the demands of the new party constitution. We must build our party well and shoulder the historical mission of building a core of leadership in socialist modernization in all fields of endeavor.

CSO: 4005/88

## **PARTY AND STATE**

### **HEBEI GOVERNMENT URGES PEOPLE TO SUBMIT WEAPONS**

**HK060617 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 82 p 2**

**[Public Notice Issued on 22 September 1982 by the Hebei Provincial People's Government Concerning Social Order]**

**[Text]** In order to strengthen public security and maintain social order, to protect the four modernizations and secure our people's lives and properties, it has been decided in accordance with the relevant laws of the state and the conditions of our province to carry out a thorough investigation and confiscation of all guns, bullets, explosives and other weapons scattered among the public. The relevant issues are noted below:

- 1. No organ or individual should keep privately weapons such as guns, bullets, explosives, sharp knives or scrapers. Whoever possesses such a weapon should, from the day this notice is issued, immediately proceed to the public security organs to register and hand it over; as to those who have been ascertained through investigation to have been keeping such weapons but still refuse to submit them, the public security organs should notify the local units and the individuals and order them to submit their weapons before a deadline; if they still refuse to hand them over, the public security organs should summon them for interrogation, search their dwellings and severely punish them in accordance with the laws of the state.**
- 2. Factories, mines, enterprises, organs, schools, neighborhood organizations, communes and production brigades should make a good job of propaganda and educational work, fully mobilize the masses and adopt the system of assigning full responsibility in seriously and thoroughly investigating and confiscating the weapons dispersed among the public, such as guns, bullets, explosives, detonators, blasting fuses, sharp knives and scrapers. The public security organs should keep records and make registrations.**
- 3. The leaders of those units which produce, store, transport, sell or use guns, bullets or explosives, especially leaders of the units which employ a large amount of explosives, such as mines, factories, enterprises, basic construction sites, communes and production brigades in the rural areas, should in the near future thoroughly check their stocks and accounts and correct the confusion in managing the explosives. If it is discovered that some explosives are missing, they should make a thorough investigation until the situation becomes clear and deal with it conscientiously. From now on, it is**

necessary to strengthen the management of explosives and strictly carry out the system of personal responsibility. As soon as it is discovered that some explosives are missing, stolen or privately lent to others, it is necessary to investigate and ascertain the responsibility of the leaders and the persons concerned.

4. It is necessary for the railway, communication and shipping departments to organize their force in order to strengthen their security checks. They should confiscate without exception the following weapons which are illegally carried: Guns, bullets, explosives, detonators, blasting fuses, sharp knives and scrapers. In addition, they should report the case to the local units and local police stations so that they can handle and investigate it. If the case is serious, it should be placed in the hands of the local public security organs to be handled in accordance with the law.

5. Public security organs and units concerned should strengthen control over the uses of guns, bullets and explosives in accordance with the relevant regulations. No unit or individual is allowed to manufacture guns, bullets, detonators, explosives or other weapons without permission. If private production is discovered, it is necessary to proscribe it by formal decree and handle it in accordance with the law.

6. The mass of cadres, workers and commune members must take positive action to help the government make a success of the confiscations. It is necessary to educate and mobilize the owners of the above-mentioned weapons voluntarily to submit their weapons. It is necessary to investigate and expose those who hide their weapons. It is necessary for the owners of the above-mentioned weapons who have engaged in criminal activities with their weapons to surrender themselves to the public security organs so as to ask for lenient treatment.

This notice is to be in force immediately.

[Dated] 26 September, 1982.

CSO: 4005/88

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI PLA MEETING ON CONGRESS DOCUMENTS STUDY

HK251050 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Oct 82 p 1

[Report by Qiu Gangfeng [6726 1511 1496]: "Provincial Military Command Holds Enlarged Party Committee Meeting to Train Backbone Forces for Publicity and Explanation"]

[Text] From 20-29 September, the CPC Committee of the Hebei Provincial PLA command held an enlarged plenary meeting to conscientiously study the 12th Congress documents and to unify the thoughts of the leading cadres on the spirit of the congress, thus satisfactorily taking the lead and setting a good example in studying and implementing the 12th Congress documents for all the troops and militia men under its command.

Dong Lifang and Fei Guozhu, political commissars of the Provincial PLA command, took turns presiding over the meeting. Gao Yang, Hebei Provincial CPC Committee first secretary and first political commissar of the Provincial PLA command, attended the meeting and spoke.

The CPC Committee of the Provincial PLA command believes that in order to develop the study of the 12th Congress documents satisfactorily among all the troops and militia men under its command, first the leaders at all levels must satisfactorily study and understand these documents. The hammer that is used to forge iron must itself be hard, otherwise it will be impossible for it to be used for forging good iron. It is impossible for those who themselves have confused understanding to help others to correctly understand the documents. Therefore, it was decided to hold an enlarged plenary meeting which had to be attended by all the responsible comrades of the CPC Committees at and above the regimental level and by all the cadres at and above the level of the directors of the divisional propaganda department and of the directors of divisional organs. Thus these people could specially spend some time together in and concentrate their energy on studying the 12th Congress documents. Our practice has proved that this method of holding a meeting as a training course and of training the leading persons first enabled us not only to focus our cadres' energy on studying the documents but also to train cadres for developing study at the basic level.

All those who attended the meeting carried out discussions on special subjects concerning the documents on the basis of a careful word-for-word study of the

documents. They focused their efforts on understanding the essential spirit of the 12th Party Congress. During the study, they linked their real thoughts and adopted the method of presenting facts to reason things out in order to make clear a few major problems of principle. The leading comrades of the party committee of the Provincial PLA command took the lead in adopting this method and talked about their impressions and understanding in light of their personal experiences.

After this study period, they improved their understanding on the following problems: 1) They more profoundly understand the significance of the 12th Party Congress for the great historic change. The comrades who came from the basic level enumerated the great achievements that our country had scored on various fronts and in building our army and militia since the 3d plenary session of the 11th CPC plenary session and talked about the great achievements of the 12th Party Congress. Many veteran Red Army men and Eighth Route Army men recalled the scenes of the Seventh Party Congress, the magnificent high tide of the democratic revolution that emerged under the stimulus of the spirit of the Seventh Party Congress and the victories of some fighting and battles that they personally participated. A comparison of the 12th Congress with the 7th Congress widened their field of vision and heightened their awareness and their confidence in forging ahead. 2) They become full of confidence in achieving the magnificent strategic goal put forward by the 12th Congress. They linked their deep study of the 12th Congress documents with their thoughts and analyzed in a scientific manner of seeking truth from facts the magnificent strategic goal raised by the 12th Congress. As a result, they have induced from their analysis the following five scientific viewpoints on which this magnificent goal has been drawn up. First, this goal has been drawn up on objective reality. It has taken into consideration the actual conditions in our country and it has been free from the leftist fetters of high targets and from the habit of making false, exaggerated and empty plans. Second, it is based on the law of the development of socialist construction and is not the result of the ideal dream that transcends the present stage of socialism, nor a goal for rash action that violates the objective laws. Third, it is based on our historical experiences and lessons and is not the result of copying the goal of other people or a result of a fondness for exaggerated goals and foreign things. Fourth, it is based on real economic conditions and is not a result of aiming too high and rashly pursuing achievements. Fifth, it is based on the basic interests of the broad masses of the people, therefore it does not advocate the one-sided pursuance of high speed and high accumulation taking no consideration of improving the material and cultural lives of the masses of the people. They also analyzed the following six favorable conditions for the realization of this magnificent goal: We have corrected the leftist mistakes and formulated a correct guideline of regarding economic construction as the key task; throughout our country, we have unified our thinking and created a lively political situation of stability and unity; through summing up both positive and negative experiences and lessons, we have found a path for our socialist modernization that is suited both to our national conditions and to the desire of our people; because of the continuous development of our economic construction, we have already laid a material and technical foundation of a considerable scale; our cause accords with the will of the people, therefore, we can tap endless initiative for building socialism among our masses of people; and we have established a

central leading group that has been formed according to the principle of succession of the elderly by the young and cooperation between the elderly and the young and that is politically mature, competent to run the economy, full of energy and completely reliable. After making an analysis in this manner of seeking truth from facts, they said that the magnificent strategic goal is practical as well as beautiful and is something we will be able to achieve, and therefore they were full of confidence.

3) They have acquired a new understanding of the significance of realizing the lofty goal of communism and strengthening education in communism. During their study, they all used Comrade Hu Yaobang's report and the new party constitution as the basis to make clear that the true meaning of communism consists of two parts--the communist movement and communist system. Thus they have made a clear demarcation line between real communism and false communism and clearly realized that the "communist wind" and "poor transition" that was advocated in the past had nothing to do with communism. They realize that the current policy of the CPC Central Committee serves the general goal of communism and that the core of socialist spiritual civilization is communism. As a result, their confidence in fighting for the communist cause is strengthened. Many comrades said that communism was what we were practicing and we were determined to fight for the communist cause all our lives. Quite a few comrades took account of the concrete problems in their units and studied how they were to do a good job of developing the party organizations according to the new party constitution. Wan Jianchang, political commissar of the Shijiazhuang garrison command, linked his study of the 12th Congress documents with the problem in his own unit of the old age of the members of the leading group in his garrison. He found that what the 12th Congress put forward about making our ranks of cadres more revolutionary-minded, younger, better educated and professionally competent is of vital importance. He discovered what was lacking in his garrison in light of the 12th Congress spirit and clearly know what he should do to make improvements. Advisers Shi Zhenkui and Feng Huanan said that the old comrades had to be clearly aware of their historical responsibilities and act as good "Beles" [Bele was a well-known specialist in selecting good horses] For the revolution in recommending competent official candidates and selecting "intelligent" young people for leading posts in order to satisfactorily build up our leading groups and enable the succession of our party's cause to continue generation after generation, like the constant running of the water in the Changjiang River.

On the basis of their heightened and unified ideology and understanding, the comrades who attended the meeting studied the methods and steps for developing the study of the 12th Congress documents among all the troops and militia men under the Provincial PLA command. They all thought that the method of holding a meeting as a training course was a good method and that after the meeting they would adopt the measures of holding enlarged meetings of CPC Committees and organizing training courses to train office cadres and militia cadres by stages and in groups. The party committee members and leading cadres at all levels expressed their will to take the lead in satisfactorily studying and understanding the documents and in going to the basic level to publicize and explain these documents. They would satisfactorily grasp the typical units and promptly popularize good experience. They would adopt diverse kinds of methods to soundly and effectively develop the activities of relaying and studying the spirit of the 12th Congress.

## **PARTY AND STATE**

### **BRIEFS**

**NEI MONGGOL PAPER-PUBLICATION MEETING**--On 6 October, the propaganda department of the Nei Monggol Regional CPC Committee and the Regional Post and Telecommunications Administrative Bureau held a regional telephone conference on the publication of papers and periodicals. The conference urged that we should take guidelines of the 12th Party Congress as motives to create a new situation for the publication of papers and periodicals in 1983. Bu He, deputy secretary of the Regional CPC Committee, spoke at the conference. He called on the party committees at all levels to enhance the leadership over the publication of papers and periodicals and to attach prime importance to the publication of party organs and periodicals. Attention should be paid to upgrading the quality of papers and the quality of publication. [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 8 Oct 82]

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